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SCHOOL ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION

BY

LEONARD P. AYRES

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FOREWORD

This report on "School Organization and Administration" is one of the 25 sections of the report of the Education Survey of Cleveland conducted by the Survey Committee of the Cleveland Foundation in 1915. Twenty-three of these sections will be published as separate monographs. In addition there will be a larger volume giving a summary of the findings and recommendations relating to the regular work of the public schools, and a second similar volume giving the summary of those sections relating to industrial education. Copies of all these publications may be obtained from the Cleveland Foundation. They may also be obtained from the Division of Education of the Russell Sage Foundation, New York City. A complete list will be found in the back of this volume, together with prices.

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SCHOOL ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION

CHAPTER I

THE GOVERNMENTAL BASIS OF THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

For many years educational conditions in Cleveland have been unsatisfactory. There has been a series of administrations supporting diverse policies and a succession of superintendents each selected because he was believed to possess qualifications quite distinct from those which were thought to constitute the chief recommendation of his predecessor. There has been an exceptional amount of public criticism of educational procedure and the schools have been given unusual attention in the public press. The city has come to have an unenviable reputation among American municipalities as afflicted with a chronic condition of educational unrest.

CLEVELAND'S GREATEST EDUCATIONAL PROBLEM

The great educational problem of Cleveland is to discover and correct the cause of this condi-

tion. Until this is accomplished the citizens will continue to be dissatisfied with their schools and educational progress will continue to be disturbed and interrupted. Scarcely any service that could be rendered to the city of Cleveland would be of greater value than to answer in clear and simple terms the question, "What is the matter with the public schools?" There is abundant evidence that something has been the matter with them for a long time. This is the one educational proposition upon which there is substantial agreement in Cleveland. It is proclaimed by those who attack the school system and admitted by those who defend it. It is acknowledged by the teaching force and discussed by civic organizations. It is evidenced by the recurrent educational controversies of the past 40 years, the sweeping changes brought about by the Educational Commission of 10 years ago, and the extraordinary public interest in the reports and recommendatoins of the present school survey.

The task of identifying and locating the fundamental trouble that lies at the base of this situation is rendered unusually difficult by the fact that Cleveland now possesses nearly all the component features essential for a truly successful educational system. For example, the citizens of this city have shown in the common

conduct of their community affairs a degree of enlightenment unequalled in any other great American city. The schools are managed by a small board elected at large. Political favoritism in the selection of teachers and other employees is almost nonexistent. The business affairs of the board are so conducted that they are practically free from even a suspicion of graft. And yet in spite of all these admirable and even unusual advantages the unsatisfactory conditions that have been described still prevail.

During the past year the Survey has attempted, through its studies and with the help of its specialists, to solve the complex problems summed up in the question, "What is the matter with the public schools?" The different studies have brought to light various sorts of troubles and the specialists that have conducted the investigations have phrased their conclusions in differing terms. Repeatedly they have called attention to the absence of definitely located authority and responsibility in different parts of the system. They have reported that those with whom they discussed school problems in Cleveland were almost always concerned with specialized interests and rarely with the larger considerations that determine the quality of instruction received by the children. They have commented on what seemed to them a lack of

unity in thought and action dealing with educational problems here.

On final analysis these apparently differing opinions, conclusions, and collections of evidence are found not to be diverse but to point in the same direction. They all indicate that the past and present troubles of the schools are located in problems of the city's educational leadership. The quality of education that the city secures is largely determined by the leadership that directs it. It is as true in a school system as it is in every other form of human organization that the character of the whole is largely determined by the people at the head.

Educational leadership in any city is exercised by the board, by the superintendent, and by others who are actively engaged or specially interested in the problems of the schools. In the main, however, a city must depend on the board and the superintendent for its educational leadership and it rightly and naturally looks to the board as representing the public, the taxpayers, and the parents, and to the superintendent as being the expert guardian of the interests of the children. If the board and superintendent become over-busy handling details of school business and forget that the only purpose for which they officially exist is to serve the schools by improving the instruction that the children

receive, their educational leadership deteriorates.

Boards of Education exist for the purpose of getting public schools managed, not for the purpose of managing the schools themselves. Their work is to get things done rather than to do them. When they overlook this fundamental principle, confusion results. Responsibility becomes scattered. Details displace fundamentals. After a year of study and the preparation of 25 volumes of reports the Survey Staff has reached the conclusion that this is what has happened in Cleveland.

In this city there is a tradition that many years ago there happened to be an able and aggressive Board of Education at a time when the city superintendent was elderly and unaggressive. It is said that during this period the board took over little by little many of the details of the superintendent's work, reached decisions for him, and generally relieved him of the more burdensome duties of his office. It is said that this inaugurated an unwritten rule throughout the school system that decisions on all matters should be put off whenever possible until they could be referred to the board.

Whether this explanation is valid or not, it is certainly true that there exists in this school system to an unusual degree the practice of refer-

ring questions to the Board of Education for decision. As a result it is the board that really manages the schools, and since the educational business of a city of this size is large in bulk and complex in nature, the board is exceedingly busy taking care of it.

The results of this situation are amazingly far-reaching. Since the board is continually busy in its sessions transacting a great mass of detailed business, it has but little time for the discussion of educational policies in board meetings. As a result the newspaper reports of board meetings deal with details and the public is unconsciously educated in the belief that these constitute the real problems of public education.

From these conditions there has grown up a Cleveland educational habit of mind that gives attention to specialized interests while neglecting common effort in behalf of general interests. This condition is an all-pervasive one, having its ultimate source in the type of leadership that has been described and conditioning the actions of the citizens as well as those of the people within the school system. The voters in electing board members are mainly interested in the forwarding of specific and isolated reforms. Platforms of educational policies are neither offered nor asked. Citizen organizations aid in

securing the erection of a new building in their district and then feel that their educational duty has been accomplished.

Within the school system are to be found groups of workers striving with singleness of aim to promote the interests of the academic high schools, or the technical high schools, or to secure more pay and less work for elementary teachers, or to promote the interests of assistant principals, or to do any other of a score of specific things. The actions of the board have often been characterized by a similar attitude. If the members are impressed with the need for an efficient business administration, they energetically forward this aim and lose sight of the fact that the only purpose of the business administration is to improve the quality of the instruction received by the children. If the board happens to be interested in the promotion of technical education or the fire-proofing of the school buildings, a similar one-sided result is produced.

The whole situation is a welter of specialized interests in which the purpose is usually not individual or group advantage, but rather the promotion of one thing which is in itself desirable but which should not be allowed to dwarf and dominate those less appealing educational necessities that constitute the most important parts of the real work for which the schools exist.

In the public square of the city there is a splendid monument erected in commemoration of a civic leader who aroused the people of Cleveland to an unusual degree of public consciousness. The inscription on the monument says: "He found us groping, leaderless and blind. He left a city with a civic mind." What the city now needs is the sort of educational leadership that will develop that kind of community consciousness with respect to its educational problems.

The major purpose of the present study is to scrutinize community action, legal provisions, board organization, and school administration as they are found operating in Cleveland with the purpose of suggesting methods by which the citizens, the board, and the school employees may secure the effectiveness of deliberation and the unity of action that will produce an efficient system of public education. As the different phases of the problem are studied and analyzed and the evidence examined, it will be found that this is in essence a study of educational leadership in Cleveland.

Board of Education a State Organization

Public education in Cleveland is administered by a Board of Education consisting of seven

members elected at large for terms of four years. The boundaries of the city school district are somewhat different from those of the city and somewhat more inclusive. In the main, however, the city of Cleveland and the Cleveland school district consist of the same territory and include the same people. Since the members of the board are elected at large, each member represents the entire district rather than the people of any one section.

The board owes its existence to a state law and its powers and duties are closely defined and limited by state legislation. The city Board of Education is in reality a state organization located in a municipality. It is not a city department provided for in the city charter in the same way as are the police, fire, and welfare departments. The city of Cleveland is practically free to have such fire and police departments as it pleases. It could, if it wished, readily change the organization of either or both. It paves its streets as it thinks wise and if the people thought best they might decide to have no parks at all or twice as many as at present.

In dealing with public education the city enjoys no such liberty of action. The state of Ohio, like most other American commonwealths, has considered education a matter of general importance and far-reaching consequence and

has not left it wholly to the management of individual municipalities. It has not only decreed that the maintenance of public schools shall be universally obligatory, but it has enacted detailed legislation prescribing the organization of the Board of Education, the methods by which it shall raise funds, the ways in which it shall do business, the number and even the salaries of the employees it may engage, the kinds of education it may maintain, the time the schools shall remain open, the way in which books shall be selected, and so on through a long list of items as to the manner in which public education shall be organized and maintained.

If the state legislature so wishes, it may modify the powers and duties of the Board of Education. It could change the organization of the board or even do away with it entirely and erect some other agency in its stead. If the people of the city think the board should have new or different powers, they cannot make the change through the city council but must instead apply to the state legislature. When the board finds that its funds are not sufficient, as is at present the case, it can get them increased only by securing a change in the state laws.

Policies by the Board, Administration by Executives

The seven members of the Board of Education legally represent the educational interests of the citizens of the district only when they are in formal session. The object of the state in providing for a Board of Education is not to appoint the members to manage the schools, but rather to create a small body of citizens that shall represent the whole community and that shall in turn employ competent executive officers to organize and manage the school system. The fundamental purpose of the state law is that the educational policies shall be determined by the board and that they shall be put into execution by the professional administrative officers employed by the board.

In order to carry on the educational activities of the district in conformity to this policy, the state law provides for the employment by the board of three administrative officers—the director of schools, the superintendent of schools, and the clerk. The appointment of the superintendent and the clerk is obligatory, while the board may appoint a director or do without one as it pleases. However, in this city the employment of a director is almost a traditional matter, dating back nearly to the inception of the school system. The first director was termed the act-

ing school manager and was appointed in 1841, some 12 years before the employment of the first superintendent of schools.

In accordance with the fundamental plan of organization, the activities of the Board of Education are organized in three departments, which are the Executive Department in charge of the director, the Educational Department under the superintendent, and the Department of the Clerk. The director is the business manager of the school system, having charge of the construction and maintenance of buildings, keeping the financial accounts, appointing and dismissing the non-teaching employees, and performing nearly all the board's executive business functions. The superintendent is the educational manager of the school system, appointing the teachers and supervising their work. The clerk has charge of recording the proceedings of the board, makes reports to state and county officials, and in addition performs certain executive functions, such as ordering textbooks, taking the annual census, publishing notices of elections, and together with the president, executing sales and purchases of real estate. The organization and personnel of these departments are shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1.—ORGANIZATION OF THE CLEVELAND CITY SCHOOL SYSTEM IN 1915

Board of Education—Seven Members

Executive Department		Educational Department		Clerk's Department	
Division	Employees	Division	Employees	Division	Employees
Director	6	Supervision	45	Clerk	5
Architect	22	Truancy	14		
Accounts	12	Normal School	16		
Buildings	20	High schools	417		
Workshop	5	Elementary	2,299		
Custodians	138				
Supplies	8				
Books	5				
Medical	41				
Lunchrooms	1				
School gardens	1				
Total	259		2,791		5

Note: The executive department has temporary employees in addition to the permanent ones listed in the table. They are mainly playground workers, clerks, and artisans and often number as many as 250.

Restrictions of State Legislation

The state of Ohio has on its statute books an extraordinarily large body of school legislation, much of which was enacted into law when there were no large and complicated city school systems within the state borders. As the cities have grown and education has become more complex, new provisions have been enacted from time to time to meet the changing conditions, to safeguard the interests of the schools, and to provide against possible abuses of different sorts.

As the new legislation has been enacted, the older provisions have remained largely unchanged, with the result that the present school law is intricate and detailed to an almost unparalleled degree.

The printed volume of the school laws of the state is a large book of nearly 500 pages. It contains 875 different sections of legislation, together with numerous statements of opinion by the attorney general, interpretations by the state superintendent, and citations from legal cases that have been tried. Many of the sections of the law relate to the maintenance of schools in towns, villages, and rural districts. Others relate to the regulation of colleges and private educational institutions. However, if these sections are not taken into account, the remaining ones, which have a direct bearing on the conduct of schools in Cleveland, are more than 400 in number. It would be impossible to frame so large a body of legal provisions of a general nature. As the figures indicate, the sections of the law applying to the conduct of public education in this city are detailed and even minute in prescribing what shall and shall not be done by the board and its executive officers and the manner in which the educational business of the city shall be transacted and the public schools administered.

A Series of Constrictions to Initiative

In large measure the provisions of the law are of three sorts. In the first place there are general enabling sections empowering the Board of Education to establish and maintain a school system. In the second place there are many sections directing the board to make available to the people of the district certain educational advantages, to provide instruction in the commoner branches, to maintain high schools, and so on. In the third place there is a very large body of legislation made up of checks and balances and designed to obviate any possibility of the abuse of power on the part of either the board or its executive officers.

The complexity and bulk of this third group of legal provisions for checks and balances constitute a great weakness in the school laws of Ohio. Because of the character of these provisions the school legislation of the state has largely nullified its own fundamental purpose to delegate to boards of education decision concerning policies, and to their employed agents the duty of putting them into execution. In order to provide against the abuse of power, the law has allotted to the Board of Education a multiplicity of duties so time-consuming and energy-consuming that there is but little time left in board meetings which the members may

devote to the discussion of policies. By the same provisions the usefulness of the board's executives is seriously restricted. The intent of the law is that these executives shall exercise trained judgment and professional initiative and it is for the purchase of these qualities that their salaries are paid. Nevertheless the same law largely restricts their freedom to exercise these very qualities for which they are employed.

The results of all these conditions have contributed to the serious educational situation that exists in Cleveland and that has been described. The following chapters consider in detail the nature of these conditions and suggest methods for dealing with them.

Summary

1. For many years educational conditions in Cleveland have been unsatisfactory. There has been a series of administrations with differing policies and a succession of superintendents having widely diverse methods and aims. There has been much criticism of school procedure in the public press and in popular discussion.

2. The cause of this condition seems to lie in a general lack of unity of educational thought and action that has become a tradition and habit

of mind in this city. There is a passive phase of this situation which is to be found in a lack of definitely located duty and responsibility for educational action. There is another and active phase of the condition which is to be found in the Cleveland educational habit of looking out for specialized interests and disregarding the general interests of the school system as a whole.

3. The object of the present study is to scrutinize community action, legal provisions, board organization, and school administration as they are found operating in Cleveland with the purpose of suggesting methods by which the citizens, the board, and the school employees may secure the effectiveness of deliberation and the unity of action that will produce an efficient system of public education.

4. The Board of Education consists of seven members elected at large for terms of four years. These members represent the citizens of the school district, which includes the city of Cleveland and a small amount of outside territory.

5. The Board of Education is a state organization owing its existence to a state law and having its powers and duties closely defined and limited by state legislation.

6. The object of the state in creating the Board of Education is not to charge the members with the duty of managing the schools, but

rather to create a body of citizens that shall represent the whole community and employ competent executives to organize and manage the school system. The fundamental purpose of the law is that educational policies shall be decided by the board and put into execution by the employed administrative officers.

7. The activities of the board are organized under three departments: The Executive Department in charge of the director, the Educational Department under the superintendent, and the Department of the Clerk.

8. The school laws of Ohio are detailed and numerous. They comprise a large printed volume of nearly 500 pages and include nearly 900 separate sections, of which more than 400 relate to city school systems. The provisions of the law are so numerous and complicated that they restrict the efficiency and tend to deaden the initiative of board members, employees, educational officials, and teachers.

CHAPTER II

THE BUSINESS AND PROCEDURE OF THE BOARD

Cleveland's educational troubles have been ascribed to a general condition which has been characterized as a lack of unity in thought and action on educational problems. This has been said to manifest itself in two principal ways. The first of these is that responsibility is widely scattered and vaguely assigned. The second is that specialized interests are commonly permitted to dominate and subordinate concern for the general welfare of the schools as a whole. This chapter, in describing how the board transacts business and in analyzing its procedure, brings to light some of the conditions that will have to be altered before the fundamental trouble can be remedied.

How the Board Transacts Business

At four o'clock every Monday afternoon the seven members of the Cleveland Board of Education come together at the headquarters build-

ing for their weekly meeting. This is held in a large room which was a regular classroom in the days when the administration building was entirely occupied by the Rockwell School. The seven members and the clerk of the board sit about a large round table in the center of the room. The director of schools sits in one corner of the room while the superintendent of schools sits in another corner. Between these two officials are several chairs provided for the interested citizens who may attend the meeting, and across the room there are some other chairs provided for the newspaper reporters.

Promptly at four o'clock the president calls the board to order and the clerk calls the roll. If this is a typical meeting, all the seven members will be present, for they attend these weekly gatherings with a punctual regularity that would make an exceedingly creditable record on the roll book of any public school. Even board members, however, vary in the regularity with which they attend meetings, and the record for the 20 months from the beginning of 1914 through August, 1915, shows that the members of the board were absent only 64 times. As there were 80 meetings and seven members, this means that the attendance was nearly 90 per cent perfect.

Since the membership of the board remained

unchanged during this period, the records show which of the seven members contributed mainly to this total of 64 absences. The figures are presented in Table 2.

TABLE 2.—NUMBER OF TIMES EACH MEMBER OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION WAS ABSENT FROM BOARD MEETINGS DURING THE 20 MONTHS FROM JANUARY, 1914, THROUGH AUGUST, 1915. THE TOTAL NUMBER OF MEETINGS HELD WAS 80

Member	Times absent
Mrs. Green	3
Mr. Westenhaver	4
Mr. Ashmun	6
Mr. Dorn	6
Mr. Bushnell	9
Miss Perkins	13
Mr. Williams	23
Total	64

After the roll call the minutes of the last meeting are approved without being read, but they are before each member in complete and convenient printed form. The next action in the order of business is the approving of contracts. In general these relate to arrangements for purchasing such standard supplies as coal or to building and repair operations. In a rapid monotone the clerk informs the board that this contract relates to Resolution Number 5,198 and is a contract with the Cleveland and Pittsburgh Coal Company for bituminous lump coal in the sum $8,370. Almost before she ceases

speaking, the president announces, "The clerk will call the roll," and the clerk does so. Each member says, "Aye" and the clerk says, "Ayes seven, nays none," and immediately presents the next contract.

When the contracts have been disposed of, communications are taken up. The first of these come to the board from the superintendent of schools, who says that subject to the approval of the honorable board he has appointed the following substitute teachers. Then follow long lists of teachers, together with designations showing whether they are to work in high, or elementary, or kindergarten schools, or as various sorts of special teachers. These long lists are read by the clerk with extreme rapidity, but as they include scores or even hundreds of names, it takes a long time to read the communication, no matter how rapidly it is done. Instantly upon the clerk's concluding the president says, "The clerk will call the roll," which she does, and as the members finish voting "Aye," she announces, "Ayes seven, nays none," and proceeds to read the next communication.

This process may continue for as much as 20 minutes, when it is varied by the introduction of communications from the director. These are very similar to those from the superintendent

of schools in that they refer to the appointment, resignation, or leaves of absence of employees of the board. However, all the communications regarding employees which come from the superintendent relate to members of the teaching force, while those from the director have to do with stenographers, accountants, draughtsmen, janitors, and the other non-teaching employees. Since these employees are under civil service and are less easily classified in large groups than the teachers, the communications from the director are characteristically more detailed than those from the superintendent. In all cases, they give the address of the person appointed and frequently refer to a resolution numbered 800 and something which was accepted on a given date in December, 1907, and which fixes the rate of pay of the appointee. All these details, however, are merely matters of form. The clerk reads them with the same skilled speed, the president mechanically calls, "The clerk will call the roll," the clerk does so, and the members vote "Aye."

Perhaps this process goes on for another 15 minutes, and then come the reports. These are usually signed by the board committees or by the members of a committee together with the superintendent or the director or both. They most frequently refer to some matter that was

introduced as a communication during the meeting of the preceding week. In general these reports are rapidly read and received or approved either with or without the same roll call process.

When the reports are disposed of, the resolutions are taken up. These are introduced by members of the board and most of them authorize the director of schools to make certain specified purchases either from firms that are named or from the lowest responsible bidder. The items of the purchases which are authorized are set forth in complete detail. The clerk continues to read at the same rapid rate and the auditor who listens closely may discover that she is reading a resolution empowering the director to order from the lowest responsible bidder two aluminum soup ladles, one double boiler, two dishpans, one pot, one potato masher, one saucepan, and a large number of other similar articles at different specified prices. Some of the other authorizations will be for large and important purchases. At the end of each one of these lists the clerk mentions a certification in which it is attested that the money required for the payment of the appropriation is in the treasury, or has been levied and placed on the duplicate and is in process of collection, and has not been appropriated for any other purpose. These certifications of funds are not read in detail.

The instant she pauses in her reading the president says, "The clerk will call the roll," which the clerk does, and seven members say "Aye," and the clerk reports, "Ayes seven, nays none."

Most of the auditors remain during the reading of the communications and many of them stay for the first of the resolutions. Few, however, stay until the end, and those who do remain usually are impelled to do so because of some direct personal interest in some pending resolution. The steady monotone of the clerk, the recurrent formula of the presiding officer, the periodic roll call, and the routine nature of the business all combine to produce a condition of mental weariness among board members and outsiders alike.

Often no one speaks to the director or the superintendent during the board meeting and they speak to no one. Sometimes one or the other is asked some question. Usually there is no discussion and no pause in the proceedings. The clerk reads, the president says, "The clerk will call the roll," the clerk calls the roll, and the seven members answer "Aye." Then the clerk reads and the cycle begins once more. On the average this cycle is completed 26 times in each board meeting, and the meeting usually does not last much over an hour. Sometimes, however, so much business is transacted and so rapidly

that a far higher record is attained. The record for recent times was made on the 20th of July of 1914, when the clerk called the roll 80 times in one meeting, and 80 times the seven members answered "Aye." During the 20 months from the first of 1914 through August, 1915, the roll was called 2,069 times, and the seven members answered "Aye" 2,018 times—that is to say, there was failure to agree 51 times, or, roughly speaking, once in every 41 roll calls. Since on some occasions more than one member voted in the negative, the total number of negative votes in these disagreements is 69, and it is interesting to note that these are far from being evenly distributed among the several members. In the transactions of the 80 meetings, the number of times each member voted in the negative is shown in Table 3.

TABLE 3.—NUMBER OF TIMES EACH MEMBER OF THE BOARD VOTED IN THE NEGATIVE DURING THE 20 MONTHS FROM JANUARY, 1914, THROUGH AUGUST, 1915

Member	Votes in negative
Miss Perkins	3
Mr. Westenhaver	5
Mr. Ashmun	5
Mr. Williams	5
Mr. Dorn	6
Mr. Bushnell	12
Mrs. Green	33
Total	69

Amounts and Kinds of Business Transacted

During an entire year some member of the Survey Staff was present at every meeting of the Board of Education. In addition an examination has been made of the proceedings of the past 10 years, and tabulations have been compiled covering different phases of the Board's work during the past two years. In making these studies the members of the staff have been impressed with the great amount of business that the Board transacts. While the matters on which there are roll call votes are most numerous, they constitute only a little more than half of the total items of business transacted. During the calendar year of 1915 the Board met 48 times and transacted 1,940 items of business. According to the Board's procedure these transactions are classified in four main groups. The most important in point of numbers are the communications which come largely from the director and the superintendent and in the main relate to appointments of employees in their departments. According to law such communications require roll call votes for approval.

Next in importance in point of number come the resolutions. These are introduced by board members and usually have their source in one of the committees of the board. In the main

they authorize the director to make certain specified expenditures for supplies, maintenance, or new buildings and must be adopted by roll call vote.

The third class of business consists of contracts and bonds. They are passed upon by the board and usually have their origin in some previous resolution authorizing the director to enter into the contract.

In the fourth place there are reports which are usually brought in by the board committees and are frequently signed by the superintendent or director together with the committee members.

The transactions of the board for 1915 as classified in these four main groups are shown in the data of Table 4.

The totals of Table 4 show that more than half of the items of business transacted are brought in by the board and its committees. Nearly a quarter of them are introduced by the director and a little more than one in eight by the superintendent. It is noteworthy that during 1915 the board received only four communications direct from teachers and that these consisted of invitations to attend school exercises.

TABLE 4.—CLASSES AND SOURCES OF ITEMS OF BUSINESS TRANSACTED BY BOARD OF EDUCATION DURING YEAR 1915

Class of business	Source of Business								
	Board of Education	Director of Schools	Superintendent of Schools	Citizens and organizations	Clerk of Board	Business firm	City or state government	Teachers	Total
Communications	4	467	262	72	34	15	10	4	868
Resolutions	747	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	747
Contracts and bonds	180	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	181
Reports	142	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	144
Total	1,073	467	262	72	37	15	10	4	1,940

Nature and Sources of Business Transacted

Table 5 presents a complete classification of the nature and sources of the items of business transacted by the board during 1915.

An inspection of the totals in the right-hand column shows that more than one-fourth of the items related to appointments, resignations, leaves of absence, and similar actions having to do with the employees of the board. Only a little more than one-eighth of them had to do with educational administration. The great majority were business transactions.

A Busy and Devoted Board

Some of the members of the Board of Education devote a large amount of time and labor to their work outside of board meetings. This has long been traditional in Cleveland, and the board has almost always had among its members men and women who have been notably self-sacrificing in their devotion to the work. In "The History of the Cleveland Schools in the Nineteenth Century" it is recorded that more than 75 years ago a board member who served for 15 years gave so much of his time to school work that his law partner complained that the business of the firm suffered as a result. A similar spirit has ani-

TABLE 5.—NATURE AND SOURCES OF ITEMS OF BUSINESS TRANSACTED BY BOARD OF EDUCATION DURING YEAR 1915

Nature of business	Source of business								
	Board of Education	Director of Schools	Superintendent of Schools	Citizens and organizations	Clerk of Board	Business firm	City or state government	Teachers	Total
Appointments, leaves, resignations, etc.	2	339	204	..	..	..	..	..	545
Maintenance and supplies	314	3	..	..	..	..	1	..	318
Educational administration	137	1	53	55	1	6	1	4	258
Business administration	115	98	2	9	15	1	5	..	245
Buildings and sites	236	..	..	3	..	3	..	..	242
Finance	73	..	..	1	20	..	2	..	96
Approving warrants and bills	94	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	94
Social welfare	45	25	..	3	..	..	1	..	74
School textbooks	57	1	3	1	1	5	..	..	68
Total	1,073	467	262	72	37	15	10	4	1,940

mated many of the board members from that time to this and it is entirely probable that not a few of them have given so much time to the interests of the schools that their own professions or businesses have suffered in consequence.

This altruistic self-sacrifice is a splendid and valuable asset and it is of the utmost importance that the work of the board should be so organized that the schools may profit from it to the fullest extent. At the present time the efforts of the members of the board in behalf of the schools are not nearly so effective as they would be if it were possible for them to devote more time to the careful consideration of educational problems and to presenting these problems to the public, and less time to the routine transactions of the business details.

It is a fundamental principle of sound administration of public affairs that policies should be formulated by boards and put in execution by individuals. The facts and figures that have been presented reveal the important condition that the Board of Education of Cleveland does not and cannot concern itself mainly with policies in its meetings because it is too busy. The main business of its formal sessions at the present time is to authorize the director of schools to make some purchase or take some action and to confirm him for having done it. The next big-

gest business is to confirm the appointments and resignations of teachers. The next biggest business is to vote unanimously to pay bills that it has authorized.

A Unanimous Board

Because the board is an exceedingly busy body, it has almost ceased to be a deliberative body. Each week it must dispose of a great bulk of routine business and it dare not let anything interfere with this obligation. It is in a position similar to that of a business man who has one stenographer and whose incoming mail amounts to 100 letters per day. Such a man uses form letters for replying whenever possible and when he cannot do this he limits his answer to the smallest possible number of more or less stereotyped sentences. He does not dare to stop for the careful consideration of any question and to let two or three days' mail accumulate is a calamity. If such a man is wise he soon reorganizes his office and delegates the routine work to some one else.

In the same way the Board of Education of Cleveland must dispose of each week's business at each week's meeting. It does not dare devote much time to the consideration of any problem or policy because the weekly grist of routine must be ground through. The meetings are only

about an hour in length and the average number of items of business transacted in each meeting is over 40. This means that each question receives from one to two minutes' consideration, which is perforce limited in most cases to hearing the clerk read the communication or resolution so rapidly that only by giving careful attention can its import be grasped. The result is that in almost all cases the seven members of the board act unanimously. There is no time to do anything else. Table 6 shows the results of the 2,069 roll call votes of the board during the 20 months from January, 1914, through August, 1915.

In that period there were 80 meetings with an average of 26 roll calls each meeting. Out of each 100 times that the roll was called, the members voted unanimously nearly 98 times. In one meeting there were 80 unanimous roll calls. During nine consecutive weeks at the end of the period there was not a single disagreement. Even when there was not perfect agreement, the subjects on which some members voted in the negative were not in the main such as involved fundamental problems because the board was not in the main considering fundamental problems.

The nature of the subjects on which there was disagreement is shown in Table 7, which indicates that in 80 meetings held during 20 months

TABLE 6.—RESULTS OF ROLL CALL VOTES OF BOARD OF EDUCATION DURING THE 20 MONTHS FROM JANUARY, 1914, THROUGH AUGUST, 1915

Date of meeting	Roll call votes	Nature of votes
Jan. 5	6	All unanimous
" 9	16	All unanimous
" 12	10	All unanimous
" 19	18	14 unanimous
" 26	24	23 unanimous
Feb. 2	20	19 unanimous
" 9	14	All unanimous
" 16	15	14 unanimous
" 24	23	22 unanimous
Mar. 2	8	All unanimous
" 9	7	All unanimous
" 16	18	All unanimous
" 23	13	All unanimous
" 30	19	18 unanimous
Apr. 6	16	All unanimous
" 13	26	All unanimous
" 20	29	All unanimous
" 27	21	19 unanimous
May 4	19	18 unanimous
" 11	22	21 unanimous
" 18	18	17 unanimous
" 25	25	All unanimous
June 1	13	All unanimous
" 8	19	18 unanimous
" 15	34	31 unanimous
" 22	27	26 unanimous
" 29	28	26 unanimous
July 6	33	32 unanimous
" 20	80	All unanimous
" 28	47	All unanimous
Aug. 3	23	All unanimous
" 10	36	All unanimous
" 17	31	All unanimous
" 31	41	All unanimous
Sept. 8	49	47 unanimous
" 14	28	All unanimous
" 21	28	26 unanimous
" 28	26	All unanimous
Oct. 5	36	All unanimous
" 13	17	15 unanimous
" 19	27	All unanimous
" 26	13	All unanimous

TABLE 6.—(Concluded.)

Date of meeting	Roll call votes	Nature of votes
Nov. 2	23	All unanimous
" 9	9	All unanimous
" 16	29	28 unanimous
" 23	14	12 unanimous
" 30	24	22 unanimous
Dec. 7	27	23 unanimous
" 14	23	22 unanimous
" 21	28	All unanimous
Jan. 4	26	All unanimous
" 11	25	All unanimous
" 18	25	All unanimous
" 25	30	29 unanimous
Feb. 1	20	All unanimous
" 8	20	All unanimous
" 15	23	All unanimous
" 23	21	All unanimous
Mar. 1	16	All unanimous
" 8	23	All unanimous
" 15	23	21 unanimous
" 22	20	19 unanimous
" 29	37	All unanimous
Apr. 5	31	All unanimous
" 12	30	27 unanimous
" 19	16	All unanimous
" 26	16	15 unanimous
May 3	23	22 unanimous
" 10	22	21 unanimous
" 17	20	All unanimous
" 24	24	23 unanimous
June 1	25	23 unanimous
" 7	18	All unanimous
" 14	39	All unanimous
" 21	38	All unanimous
" 28	36	All unanimous
July 6	30	All unanimous
" 19	57	All unanimous
Aug. 2	43	All unanimous
" 16	41	All unanimous
" 31	51	All unanimous
Total	2,069	2,018 unanimous

and involving more than 2,000 roll calls there was disagreement 51 times about a total of 37 topics.

TABLE 7.—NUMBER OF ROLL CALLS IN WHICH THERE WAS DISAGREEMENT AMONG THE MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION DURING THE 20 MONTHS FROM JANUARY, 1914, THROUGH AUGUST, 1915. TOTAL NUMBER OF VOTES TAKEN WAS 2,069

Nature of question	Number of roll calls not unanimous	Members voting in negative
1. Appropriation for fire protection	3	5
2. Payment of piano tuner	1	1
3. Payment of custodians for evening services	1	1
4. Expenditure for furnace repairs	1	1
5. Installing billiard table in high school	1	1
6. Equipment of special rooms	2	2
7. Bid for heating and ventilating	1	2
8. Use of old school for storage by church	1	1
9. Assuring parents that repairs will be made	1	1
10. Conduct of board meetings	1	1
11. Communication about teachers' union	1	1
12. Communication to teachers about salaries	1	3
13. Administration of summer schools	2	4
14. Granting newspaper access to record	2	3
15. Procedure in making reappointments	1	1
16. Teachers not reappointed	4	5
17. Use of schools for foreign language instruction	3	3
18. Leave to teachers to attend educational meeting	1	1
19. Donation to Christmas ship	1	2
20. Confirming director in approving work	1	1
21. Notice in schools about contribution for miners	1	1
22. Encouraging pupils to ride on Donation Day	2	2
23. Advertising in schools	1	2
24. Consideration of Gary plan	1	2
25. Resolution about special committee	2	3
26. Extension of Christmas holidays	1	2
27. Material included in report of board	1	1
28. Permitting children to sell Red Cross stamps	1	1
29. Committee to attend school entertainment	1	2
30. Manual training in night school	1	2
31. Purchase of land for playground	1	1
32. Salary increases for associate superintendents	1	2
33. Peace exercises in school	1	1
34. Adoption of Dr. Dawson's book	2	2
35. Agricultural course at West Technical	1	1
36. Election of superintendent	1	2
37. Communications on election of superintendent	2	2
Total	51	69

As there were occasions on which more than one member voted in the negative, the total of such votes was 69. Only eight times during this entire period was there so serious a disagreement that any proposition was defeated. The nature of these eight most exceptional cases was as follows:

January, 1914—Motion to table report from Chamber of Commerce on fire protection.
March, 1914—Motion to reconsider contract for work on Gilbert School Annex.
April, 1914—Motion to assure parents that repairs at North Doan will be at once undertaken.
June, 1914—Motion to have communication regarding Mr. McLane referred to the committee of the whole board instead of to committee on educational matters alone.
December, 1914—Motion to make Christmas vacation always two full weeks.
January, 1915—Motion to appoint member to attend meeting at Chesterfield school.
March, 1915—Motion for a hearing on curtailing night school activities.
May, 1915—Motion arranging for summer schools.

Problems of Educational Policy

There is ample evidence too in the records that the board is at present too busy either to initiate or to consider many matters of educational

policy. This is serious, for the school system exists for the teaching of the children, and everything that it does should be directed and subordinated to this end. Nevertheless among nearly 2,000 items of business transacted in 1915, only about one-eighth can truly be termed "educational matters." An analysis of the nature and source of these matters brings out the data presented in Table 8, which shows that about one-fifth of them were routine in nature, almost half administrative in nature, and only 86 pertained to questions of policy. Moreover, these 86 transactions related to only 44 separate questions.

TABLE 8.—NATURE AND SOURCES OF EDUCATIONAL MATTERS COMING BEFORE THE BOARD OF EDUCATION IN 1915

Source	Routine	Administration	Policy	Total
Board of Education	13	37	31	81
Outside source	6	23	25	54
Superintendent of Schools	21	18	9	48
Board and superintendent	..	25	16	41
Director of Schools	5	5	1	11
Board and director	2	5	3	10
Clerk of Board	1	..	1	2
Board and outside source	..	1	..	1
Board, superintendent, and outside	..	1	..	1
Total	48	115	86	249

This means that these transactions concerning educational policy, which constituted in the aggregate less than one-twentieth of the busi-

ness transacted, provided on the average less than one problem for each meeting held during the year. It is interesting and significant to note that these 44 matters of policy had their origin as follows:

Outside source	18
Board of Education	15
Superintendent of Schools	8
Board and Superintendent	2
Director	1
	44

In connection with the consideration of problems of educational policy there is one common mode of procedure in Cleveland to which may be traced no small part of the lack of public confidence in the board's actions. This is the consideration of questions in which the public is most deeply interested in meetings where no outsiders are present. When some subject under consideration is so important that it cannot be disposed of in routine session by referring it to a board committee and then having the whole board adopt the committee report, the common procedure is to refer it to the committee of the whole board instead of to the appropriate subcommittee. This is almost never done except to consider truly important questions, and when it does happen a special meeting is called in order to discuss and deliberate concerning the

matter. However, this special meeting of the committee of the whole is not a public meeting, like a regular board meeting, but one which the public and the press representatives do not attend. Such a meeting was recently held to consider arguments for and against adopting the Gary plan of school administration in Cleveland.

Nothing is said or any action taken at these meetings that might not quite as well be said and done in the presence of outside witnesses. The main difference is that discussion is somewhat freer than it would otherwise be. Nevertheless there are two serious results which have grown out of this relatively unimportant feature of board practice. The first is the growth of the common impression on the part of the newspapers, the public at large, and the rank and file of the teaching force that important educational decisions are reached arbitrarily and even secretly. The other unfortunate result is that the board itself has fallen into a habit of regarding a meeting of the committee of the whole as unusual, portentous, and for the purpose of dealing with matters of special import. Thus the form of deliberation that should constitute the regular standard method of dealing with most of the board's problems has become a special, unusual, and almost emergency method of procedure.

The foregoing discussion of board procedure gives no accurate account of the time spent by board members in school work outside of regular board sessions. This is because it is impossible to secure any accurate information concerning the committee meetings or the individual work of board members. The committee meetings are not held at stated intervals nor are minutes kept of their proceedings. Some of the committees meet more frequently than others. In general such evidence as the Survey has been able to secure tends to indicate that the work of the committees and the individual members outside of regular board sessions is largely devoted to dealing with much the same sort of problems as those that consume the time and attention of the board in its formal sessions.

Summary

1. The Board of Education meets once a week for a session of about one hour. The members are regular and punctual in attendance.

2. There are four main classes of business transacted, consisting of contracts and bonds, communications, reports, and resolutions.

3. The board transacts about 40 items of business at each meeting. Most of these relate to details of business management. The majority

of the board's time is spent in authorizing the director of schools to make some purchases or take some action and then confirming him for having done it.

4. Board meetings are conducted in an orderly, rapid, and mechanical fashion. The time is largely spent in listening to the clerk read communications and resolutions, most of which are unanimously adopted by roll call votes.

5. There are on the average 26 roll call votes per meeting. Of these, 98 per cent are unanimous. Sometimes many weeks pass without a single disagreement. In one meeting there were 80 unanimous roll call votes. There is little discussion and almost no motions are lost.

6. Few matters of educational policy are considered by the board and most of these have their origin in outside sources.

7. Most of the time of board meetings is spent in the faithful, monotonous, unanimous transaction of routine details.

CHAPTER III

ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION

The preceding chapters have shown that the Board of Education of Cleveland is a busy and hard-working body, devoting much time and energy to transacting a great bulk of educational business with almost unfailing unanimity of agreement. It is in session about 50 hours a year and it transacts about 40 items of business each hour. Of these 40 items, about 35 pertain to business management and about five to educational administration.

Under these circumstances it is impossible for the board to give much consideration in its meetings to the determination of educational policies for the simple reason that it has not time to do so. The transactions pertaining to business management absorb nearly all the available time and relegate problems of educational policy to a subordinate position. The result is that the sessions of the board have become routine and detailed rather than policy-making and legislative. In point of fact the great majority of time that the

board is in session is devoted to listening to the clerk read in rapid monotone the communications, reports, and resolutions which are acted upon and which are in the main expressed in formal, legal terminology. This wearisome procedure almost entirely absorbs the time of the board which should be devoted to legislative or supervisory action. The attention which should be paid by members to such action is largely dissipated. Intelligent inquiry and alert examination of recommendations are made almost impossible.

Further analysis of the official records emphasizes the seriousness of the situation by showing that it is rapidly becoming more acute and that even less time is actually devoted in board meetings to the consideration of educational policies than the figures cited in the last chapter would indicate. That the situation is becoming progressively more acute year by year is impressively indicated by the data of Diagram 1 which show the number of roll call votes each year for the past 10 years. During that period of time these have increased by more than 200 per cent and this makes it apparent that if a similar increase maintains during the next few years the board will either have to hold more meetings or to lengthen its sessions. If the present rate of increase is continued much longer,

the length of sessions will not be sufficient to enable the clerk to read each motion out loud and call the roll even if there is never any division of opinion or any discussion.

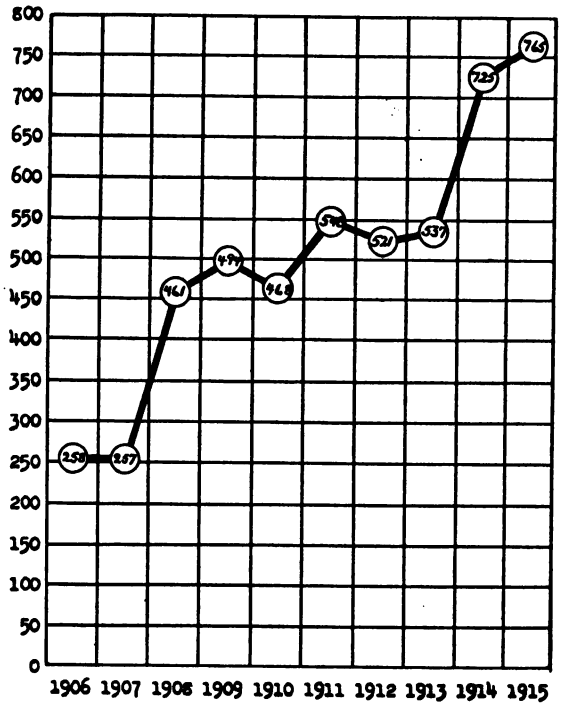

Diagram 1.—Number of roll call votes each year for 10 years

It is important for the members of the board and the citizens of Cleveland to consider the

reasons which are responsible for loading up the board with such a mass of routine and detailed work that but meager attention can be devoted to legislative or supervisory action. In the opinion of the writer there are three main factors contributing to bring about the situation. The first of these is the effect of the legal provisions now in force which prescribe the manner in which much of the business of the board shall be transacted.

Legal Provisions as to Board Procedure

The most important of these provisions are to be found in a section of the law which prescribes that the clerk shall publicly call the roll and the members shall vote aye or no on every resolution authorizing the purchase or sale of real or personal property, or the employment of a superintendent or teacher, or janitor or other employee, or the election or appointment of any officer, or the payment of any debt or claim, or the adoption of new textbooks. These provisions make it inevitable that there should be an inordinate amount of resolution-reading and roll-calling in the transactions of the Board of Education as long as the present law is in force. In addition the law provides that no resignation shall become effective except by the consent of

the board. It further says that the director shall report to the board monthly or oftener, as required, as to all matters under his supervision and especially on everything relating to the board's financial accounts.

These mandatory provisions make it inevitable that the board should spend much time in routine procedure, but they fall far short of accounting for all the resolution-reading and roll-calling that is now done. At the present time the expenditure, of money frequently involves four board actions: the original appropriation, the approval of the contract, the authorization of the contract, and the approval of the warrant. Since a large part of the work of the board consists in mandatory roll calls on the expenditure of funds, it is most important that the transactions be grouped and passed upon together instead of separately to as large a degree as this is possible. At present there is considerable grouping of bills, warrants, authorizations, and the like, but not nearly so much as is easily possible. Again, much saving in time could be effected by simplifying the communications of the director and reducing their number. These communications largely relate to appointments and resignations of employees. In general they are complicated in their wording, giving the street address of the person appointed, and referring by number to a

previous resolution fixing the rate of the pay of the appointee and then stating the date at which this resolution was adopted. Many of these communications could well be grouped and combined.

In 1915 the permanent employees in the director's department were about 300 in number, while those in the superintendent's department were nearly 10 times as numerous. Nevertheless during that year the director brought into the board 339 communications concerning appointments, leaves, resignations, and so forth, as contrasted with 204 similar communications brought in by the superintendent. This means that the director brought in more than 100 communications for every 100 permanent employees, whereas the superintendent brought in seven communications for every 100 employees. Even though the director's force may be more mobile and less easily classified in large groups, there is no adequate reason why his communications should be proportionally more than 10 times as numerous as those of the superintendent and at the same time longer and more involved in their terminology.

The whole situation brought about by the legal requirements as to board procedure calls for two remedies. The first is to be found in a careful and vigorous attempt on the part of the board to limit, combine, and condense the items

of routine detail which it must transact. Wherever possible, resolutions should be printed and read by title and brief instead of being read aloud in full. The board ought not to permit any of its executive officers to introduce needlessly numerous or complex communications. The second remedy which the present situation demands is that the board lend its hearty support to every wisely considered bill introduced in the state legislature which has as its object the simplification and systematizing of the conduct of board business.

The board and the executive officers naturally and properly desire to have the records and accounts so full, clear, and definite that no challenge or suspicion concerning any action can subsequently be successfully raised. This end is to be attained, however, by a thorough system of recording, accounting, and auditing with special provision for giving a clear account of each appropriation and expenditure, rather than by attempting to safeguard the interests of all through having all the board members as well as the executive officer jointly responsible for each transaction.

Committee Organization and Action

In the early part of this chapter the statement was made that in the opinion of the writer there

are three main factors responsible for loading up the board with a mass of routine and detailed work. The first of these factors is to be found in the legal provisions as to board procedure. The second consists of the way in which the board conducts its business through committees.

The board consists of a president and six other members. These six members are organized into six committees in such a way that each is the chairman of one committee and a member of two others. In addition the president is ex-officio a member of all six committees. The following schedule shows this organization in detail as it was in force during the school year of 1914–15 and up to January, 1916.

COMMITTEE MEMBERSHIP OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION DURING THE SCHOOL YEAR 1914–15

Members	Committees on					
	Rules	Business management	Maintenance	Social welfare	Educational matters	Buildings and sites
Ashmun	Chairman	..	Member	Member	..	..
Bushnell	..	Chairman	..	..	Member	Member
Dorn	Member	..	Chairman	..	Member	..
Green	Member	..	..	Chairman	..	Member
Perkins	..	Member	Member	..	Chairman	..
Williams	..	Member	..	Member	..	Chairman
Westenhaver	Member	Member	Member	Member	Member	Member

There does not seem to be any good reason for this type of organization. In most boards consisting of a large number of members there are numerous committees which carry on much of the real deliberation about the different subjects considered. Experience has amply demonstrated that the big board with the numerous committees represents an ineffective and inefficient form of organization. As American cities have grown and educational work has become more complex, it has been found that the big city must have a small Board of Education because its business is big and requires informed, united, and energetic action on the part of those who conduct it. This is impossible where the big board is split up into a large number of little committees handling many detailed matters and tending to become independent of each other.

Because of these reasons the small board has replaced the large one precisely for the purpose of making it possible for the board to act as a committee of the whole. This has been the experience of Cleveland itself, which formerly had a large and unwieldy board sharply divided into small committees and which welcomed the substitution of the small board in the hope of getting united and energetic legislative and supervisory action.

The board itself has largely nullified the hoped-for advantages of the new organization by dividing itself into numerous committees and building up the tradition that almost every new matter to be considered shall first be passed upon by a committee consisting of three members out of the seven and immediately thereafter passed upon by all seven members. In point of fact most of the committees do not hold regular or frequent meetings. The procedure of referring each question to a committee is largely one of form and is seriously time-consuming.

The typical procedure is for one of the executive officials to present a communication to the board on some subject requiring action. The communication is read by the clerk and referred by the president to the proper committee. The following week a resolution is brought in providing for the necessary action and signed by the appropriate committee. This resolution is then read aloud and usually adopted unanimously. Very frequently the committee has had nothing to do with the matter during the interim. The resolution has been drawn up during the week in one of the executive offices and on the occasion of the second regular board meeting it is passed around the table for the committee members to sign. It is not unusual to have a number of resolutions so circulating

during the progress of the board meeting. This procedure necessitates a reading of the original communication, referring it to the proper committee, having the matter re-written in resolution form, waiting one week, securing the signatures of the committee members, again reading it out loud, and having the board vote upon it. The process is cumbersome and time-consuming. It has become so much a matter of routine procedure that it is used for almost every item of business where it is possible to do so and the net result is an enormous consumption of time.

The experience of other cities indicates that the board's business would be far more simply and readily conducted if there were but three committees and if a large amount of the business were transacted directly by the board as a whole without being referred to the committees. The three committees suggested are: one on business, one on education, and one on buildings. Indeed, many competent students of the subject have come to the conclusion that the board does not need any permanent committees for the exercise of its legislative functions. Where there are only seven members, most business can be readily transacted by the board as a whole and such committees as are appointed are purely temporary. Some large cities have recently adopted this plan.

The Board of Education of Cleveland would be taking a wise action if it should follow the lead of the Board of Education of New York City and conduct a careful analysis of its own activities with the avowed purpose of "relieving the Board of Education and its committees of the transaction of detailed routine business." In undertaking this inquiry the president of the New York board laid down some valid and vitally important principles of board procedure which might well be adopted by the Cleveland board as guidance for its own action. He said "The Board of Education should devote its energies entirely to the consideration of the larger aspects of educational policy; to the careful appointment of those who are to carry out its policies; and to the making of those general regulations that will relieve the board from the necessary consideration of details that can be otherwise disposed of."

In the same communication the president instructs the board's Director of Reference and Research to report as follows:

On the activities of the Board of Education as a whole.
On the distinction between activities that the board should perform and those that should be left to committees.
On the matters of routine administration that

should be relegated to the executive officers.

On possible improvement in the method of conducting board meetings.

On a better method of preparing the calendar of business.

On relieving committees of unnecessary and routine functions.

The resulting report, published in 1915, is a little book of 110 pages containing many valuable suggestions for economizing time and effort and enhancing efficiency.

From a purely logical point of view there are many valid reasons why the Board of Education of Cleveland should at once proceed to a careful study of its own procedure with the object of divesting itself of as many routine and detailed activities as possible. Further arguments may readily be brought forward showing why the board should, so far as possible, relinquish administrative functions and save to itself the power of reviewing the action of the officers to whom it may delegate power. The chief duty of the board is to appoint competent professional officers and hold them responsible for the executive and technical functions to be performed. Its activities should consist largely in receiving reports on work that is planned or has been done, in considering such reports and legis-

lating on the measures proposed, and in rendering a clear and adequate account of its activities to the people. This last activity is by no means least in importance.

Suggested Reforms Not Likely to Be Adopted

It is probable that the members of the board, the professional executives at the head of the school system, and the citizens of the city would all express themselves as in favor of such a program. Nevertheless it is highly improbable that the board will inaugurate any such sweeping reform. The reason is to be found in the fact that people having control over power of any sort are almost always opposed to relinquishing it or delegating it to others. To divest ourselves of detailed activities leaves us exposed. When we are elected or appointed to have charge of activities of any sort, it gives us a comforting sense of devotion to duty if we are continually busy with a variety of matters. We are always able to cope with these details, and so long as all our time is consumed in dealing with them, no one blames us for refusing to consider those major matters of policy with which we are not sure that we can cope successfully. The foundation of effective management of large affairs is

to organize, deputize, and supervise. In every large business and organization there are to be found men and women who are able to organize and supervise, but there are few indeed who possess sufficient power of self-control and self-abnegation to enable them to deputize others to care for the details. This is why large-caliber executives are very rare.

Almost every one who has had to do with important affairs realizes the potency of his own reluctance to delegate details and to devote himself instead to the consideration of large and difficult problems. This is the reason why most business men, when confronted with a crisis that must be met by making a fundamentally important decision, do not set themselves immediately to making the decision but instead answer all the pending correspondence and clean up their desks. This trivial activity tends to deaden the pricks of conscience by enabling them to deceive themselves by being busy and thus lull the promptings to get at the really important matters which must ultimately be faced. These reactions are almost instinctive and nearly universal. They are characteristic of nearly everybody and are subordinated only by those who have a natural gift for executive work or who have had thorough training in well-organized offices and activities.

It is this delegation of specific activities, large or small, to those who can best manage them that constitutes the very spirit of modern scientific management. Under the most advanced types of organized activity each person has consigned to him those specific duties that he is best qualified to perform and he is held responsible for their performance. This should be the guiding principle of the work of the Board of Education.

As was indicated in the first chapter, the theory on which the legal organization of the school government is based is that policies should be defined by boards and put into execution by individuals. In order to represent the public in decision as to policies, a board of seven citizens is elected. In order to put these policies into execution, this board employs professional executives. In doing this latter part of the work the professional executives with their training and experience are more efficient than the board members who are only temporarily in office and who are mainly occupied with other matters. Something of this is at once apparent to each new member after he is elected to the board. At the beginning, however, he is overwhelmed by the routine which he finds in operation upon his arrival and, being unable to comprehend the work either as a whole or in its details, he little

by little acquiesces in the established routine as the proper method of conducting the school system. When he has reached this point of acquiescence, he almost instinctively opposes any suggestion that he should delegate to others the work to which he has now become accustomed and instead devote himself to what seem to him vague and difficult larger problems. These are the reasons why the reforms suggested that are truly essential to the efficient direction of the Cleveland schools will probably be adopted only gradually, and mainly as the membership of the board changes through successive elections.

The Inseparability of Business and Educational Matters

The last of the three factors mentioned at the outset of this chapter as retarding forces in the conduct of the educational business of the city is the separation of the board's activities into two independent departments, one dealing with business and the other with education. It is true that there is in addition the Department of the Clerk, but this is in reality a feature of office organization rather than a fundamentally important department influencing the conduct of the whole educational system.

The theory on which educational work in this

city is organized is that there are two separate and distinct sorts of work to be done, the one pertaining to business affairs, and the other dealing with educational matters. At the head of the business department is the Director of Schools, while presiding over the educational department is the Superintendent of Schools. There are two reasons advanced in support of this sort of organization. The first is that educational and business matters are so utterly diverse in nature that they should be kept entirely separate and dealt with by people of radically different types of training and experience. The second reason is the not uncommon opinion that professional educators are not to be trusted with the handling of large executive and administrative problems.

In the opinion of the Survey Staff neither one of these reasons is valid. The fact is that the school system exists for the teaching of the children and everything that the system does has only one purpose and that is to serve the children's needs. The only business to be conducted is directly or indirectly educational business. The truth is that in a school system every educational problem is in some measure a financial one and every financial problem is in some degree educational. The two are inseparable and the effort to classify school problems into financial

or business on the one hand and educational on the other results in having two groups of problems that everywhere overlap and intermingle. The effort to make the distinction as a basis for administrative action indicates an absence of any comprehensive grasp of the real problems of education.

A similar situation and one that would produce similarly discordant results would come about if a company manufacturing automobiles should discharge its general manager and organize its factory in two independent departments in charge of two independent experts, one of whom knew all about the processes of manufacturing automobiles but nothing whatever about their costs, while the other knew nothing about automobiles or manufacturing but was a master of business and finance.

A similar condition exists with regard to the belief that educators have had small experience with administrative problems and hence are not skilful executives. One form in which this belief is often stated in Cleveland is that no matter how poor a director the school department may have, he will at least be a better business executive than the most gifted school superintendent. The city's past experience does not support this contention.

Probably no generalization concerning public

executives is based on a more unsound basis than this one. The city superintendent of schools is the one city official commonly chosen from the country at large. In a very real sense the superintendents of schools of our great cities represent the survival of the fittest among educational executives. Other city officials are chosen from the localities in which they are employed. In private business the choice of executives is usually not even from among the men of an entire city, but rather from the employees of the business itself. Only in the school superintendency do we find in the positions of largest responsibility men chosen from the entire country on the basis of their success in executive positions in smaller localities. A glance at the figures showing the numbers engaged in different grades of educational positions will indicate that school superintendents in large cities are chosen on the basis of an intensive selection unparalleled in any other calling. These figures are substantially as follows:

Superintendents in cities of over 1,000,000 inhabitants	3
Superintendents in cities of from 250,000 to 1,000,000	16
Superintendents in cities of from 50,000 to 250,000	90
Superintendents in cities of from 10,000 to 50,000	492
Superintendents in cities of from 5,000 to 10,000	629
Public school teachers in all localities	566,000

The men who pass through this selective process from positions as teachers to principalships, to superintendencies in villages, to those in towns, to those in small cities, and finally to those in large cities, arrive in their ultimate positions because they possess in rare combination educational skill and executive ability. In the smaller communities they personally transact the business as well as the educational affairs of the school systems. Unless they are notably successful in dealing with the matters of educational business, they are not selected for positions in the cities of the next larger size. When they have reached the cities of the largest size, we may be very certain that if they have been wisely chosen and have passed through this long apprenticeship they have successfully and successively demonstrated marked ability in the transaction of educational business.

It is a most shortsighted policy which would take away from these men control over the business transactions of the school system in the great city and hand them over to an independent business agent chosen, not from the country at large, but from one locality. It must, moreover, be remembered that the business agent of the school system is not only chosen from one locality, instead of from the country at large, but he must always be a man who has been success-

ful, but not conspicuously successful, in some kind of business entirely unrelated to education. If, like the superintendent, he has served his apprenticeship and proved his ability as an educational executive, public opinion will say that he is not fit for the place. If he has proved markedly successful in some other sort of business, it will be impossible for the city to secure his services for the salary it is willing to pay. The difficulty in this whole situation lies, not in the elements of the problem, but rather in the public conviction that school teachers are not experienced executives and that, hence, school superintendents are not experienced executives either.

Growing Dominance of Business Department

In Cleveland the business department is rapidly becoming the dominant part of the school system. It is efficient in the sense that the material things that it does are well done. Nevertheless, it is expensive of the time of the board to a seriously unnecessary degree. Table 9 shows the manner in which the Board of Education transacted business through the agency of its executive officers during a period of 20 months. The items handled were nearly 1,300 in number, and of these four-fifths were transacted through the

agency of the director and less than one-fifth through that of the superintendent.

TABLE 9.—MANNER IN WHICH BOARD OF EDUCATION TRANSACTED 1,283 ITEMS OF BUSINESS THROUGH THE AGENCY OF ITS EXECUTIVE OFFICERS DURING THE 20 MONTHS FROM JANUARY 1, 1914, TO AUGUST 30, 1915

	Authorised	Confirmed	Directed	Total
Director	674	323	15	1,012
Superintendent	54	150	10	214
Clerk	48	1	8	57
Total	776	474	33	1,283

As has already been pointed out in the volume of this Survey report devoted to finance, the distribution of school expenditures in this city combines liberality toward business activities with relatively low expenditure for educational activities. In those expenditures that concern directly the work of the director of schools, Cleveland spends decidedly more than other similar cities, while in the expenditures for educational purposes immediately related to the work of the superintendent, it spends decidedly less than other similar cities.

A business department in a school system exists for three purposes: to relieve the Board of Education of care and responsibility in matters of business detail; to secure efficient management of the school business of the city; and to

serve the best interests of the schools. In Cleveland the business department certainly does not relieve the board from responsibility in matters of business detail, since it regularly and systematically refers to the board and its committees even minute matters of routine procedure and, as has been pointed out, thus loads the board up with a vast amount of detail. It is unquestionably effective in securing a high grade of material results, and in this sense it well subserves the second purpose mentioned. In the matter of serving the best interests of the schools it is effective in a narrow way for it helps secure supplies, erect good buildings, keep them clean and orderly, and care for repairs. These are necessary adjuncts to a good school system. They constitute, however, only one phase and not the most important one of effective educational work. What is beginning to happen in Cleveland is what always happens when the business department of a Board of Education is made entirely independent of the educational department and the two are presided over by independent executives of equal rank. In such cases the danger is always that the business department will eventually come to regard its work as an end in itself and forget that the sole purpose for which it exists is to help in the great task of teaching thousands of children.

The school buildings were erected for the use of the pupils and the teachers and they belong to the community. The work that the business department does in cleaning, heating, and repairing these buildings has just one purpose, and that is to make them more useful for educational purposes. The business department is likely to forget these simple and fundamental principles. It erects the building and has charge of its care and maintenance and often comes eventually to regard it as though it were its own property. If it is an efficient department, it is greatly concerned with effecting economies and is likely to think of the use of buildings in terms of the wear and tear and maintenance involved rather than in terms of the educational services rendered.

All these are reasons why the present dual system of control is an unfortunate one which, if maintained, will almost certainly result in progressive emphasis on the business management with the accompanying slighting of educational problems. There is a constant tendency for every board to devote itself to business problems because these are the ones it best understands and because nearly all of them are capable of quick and sure solution.

The proper form of administration and the one recommended in every recent responsible book on the subject is one which places the

superintendent as the executive head of the entire school system and gives him co-ordinating power over all departments, subject always to appeal to the board in case of fundamental disagreement. The superintendent should be the real head of the school system as well as its titular head. If the schools do not succeed, if there is trouble in their management, or if the people are dissatisfied with their work, it is the superintendent who is held responsible. Since he is held responsible for results, the executive heads of the other departments in the school system should be under his ultimate authority and control.

In general this is best managed by appointing an assistant superintendent in charge of business affairs and giving him the same status in the organization that the other assistant superintendents have. The best man for such a place is often a school man with marked business sense. Experience shows that it is easier to develop business sense in a good school man than educational sense in a business man. However the result is brought about, it is essential that the business manager be kept close to the educational management and be made to feel that he is part of the educational organization.

There is one final reason why the business management of the schools should be kept in the

closest alliance with the educational management. The greatest present problem of education is to develop opportunity for the children to take part in the real activities of the world, rather than solely in artificial and abstract work in books. In former years children received the most fruitful education in doing chores in the home and on the farm. Today our more highly organized civilization is taking these away. In the schools of Cleveland there are hundreds of chores to be done. Scores of men are continually at work altering, painting, repairing, installing systems of wiring, heating, and ventilation. Some of these chores are precisely of the sort to make them educationally valuable. They are real and diversified and deal with a wide range of materials and processes. Since the school community has chores to do and children that need to do chores, its organization ought to make it possible to put the chores and the children together. As the years go by, this necessity will appear in ever-increasing importance. Just so long as Cleveland takes the stand that all this real work within its school system is non-educational in character and creates an administrative divorce between what it considers education and what it considers business, it will debar itself from using one of the valuable educational assets within its grasp.

The Definite Locating of Authority and Responsibility

As has been indicated from the outset of the present report and especially in the present chapter, the weaknesses which exist in the Cleveland school system are not separate and specific, but are rather phases of a general condition that permeates the entire organization. This condition in part consists of and results from a lack of definite localization of authority and responsibility. It springs from the kind of training to which everybody in the system is constantly subjected. The state intervenes to direct how the schools shall be organized, what officers shall be chosen, how textbooks may be selected, when the buildings shall be open, how meetings shall be conducted, when the roll shall be called, and so on through a long series of prescriptions. Thus the members of the board and the executive officers are always being trained in having a higher authority exercise responsibility for them. In matters of instruction the colleges have largely decreed what subjects shall be taught and what units given in the high schools. The board has intervened in matters of detail as well as in matters of policy, so that the executive officers are constantly reminded that the proper disposal of any problem consists in referring it to a committee of the board. These committees,

in their turn, refer the question to the whole board, which sometimes settles it and sometimes refers it again to an executive officer. Superintendents, principals, supervisors, and teachers are never sure under this system that it is safe to exercise responsibility about anything. If they do so, the results may be unfortunate, so the surer way is always to refer the matter to some one else and ultimately have it settled by a committee of the board and by the board as a whole. Permeating the whole situation is the fundamental fact that the organization is constructed on the theory that educational problems and business problems are separate. Under this arrangement a decision must be made concerning everything as to whether it is educational or business in nature.

Responsibility is a thing which will not grow in such an atmosphere as this. As the different specialists employed by the Survey have studied local conditions, almost every one has reported that in his particular field the feature which most impressed him was the lack of definitely located responsibility. Striking examples of this can be multiplied almost indefinitely from the reports of these specialists.

The taking of the school census is conducted by the clerk, but the findings are fundamentally important to the educational administration and

have a close connection with the problems of administering compulsory attendance and deciding on new building operations. Nevertheless, there does not exist any adequate machinery of coördination in the use of the results between the business department, the educational department, and the department of the clerk.

The details of building construction and repair have an important relation to instruction but are determined by the business department. An example of this is to be found in the rearrangement of a building for use under the platoon plan, which is primarily an educational problem, but where the details must be worked out by the independent business department. The report on exceptional children calls attention to the difficulty of conducting special schools and classes for many different kinds of exceptional children without any provision for coördinated supervision and without any one being made responsible for the conduct of all the work of any given sort.

In studying the work with immigrants, a similar situation was brought to light and recommendation made that some one with an understanding of the work be made responsible for carrying it on. In the volume on educational extension attention has been called to the great diversity of the activities now conducted by the

school system and the utter impossibility of making any sharp classification of these activities in terms of their qualities. In other words, attention is called to the fact that ultimately they are all educational problems and cannot be divided into business activities on the one hand and educational ones on the other.

In the volume on measuring the work of the public schools much attention is given to the necessity for central supervision of the high schools, for some responsible direction of the kindergartens, and more closely knit supervision of the elementary schools.

In the volume on health work a whole section is devoted to the difficulties that these activities encounter because of the fact that the Cleveland school authorities have rendered their decision in two ways in dealing with health work in the public schools. The board has decided that provision for health in education is a series of business transactions and so it has placed medical inspection in the executive department under the leadership of the director. At the same time it has decided that provision for education in health is a teaching problem, and so has placed physical education and training in physiology and hygiene under the direction of the superintendent of schools.

In the volume on education through recrea-

tion there is a section including a carefully worked-out diagram showing the intricate way in which power and responsibility in the administration of school recreation are widely scattered.

The anomalies brought about by this situation are many. For example, the director appoints the superintendent's stenographer and private secretary and may discharge them at will. Provided the board approves his action, the director may appoint all subordinates without consulting the heads of divisions in which they are placed. The director may discharge employees without consulting the board and the board may discharge them without consulting the director.

The superintendent is responsible for the use of buildings during regular school hours, while the director is responsible for their use at other times. If a school building is to be used for lectures to teachers on educational subjects, consistent practice would require that the director approve the character of the lectures and give permission for the use of the building.

Athletics are considered educational and are part of physical training under the superintendent of schools. Thus, in order to have a basketball game, educational permission must be obtained through the superintendent and the use of the gymnasium must be secured through the

director on the theory that the one matter is educational while the other matter is business.

Instruction in infant hygiene is given to the girls in the upper grades. Part of the teaching is done by the regular teachers, the rest by the nurses of the regular medical inspection department. When the instruction is given by the teachers, it is considered an educational activity and is under the supervision of the superintendent. When the same class is taught by the nurse, the work is considered a business transaction and is under the direction of the director.

The chief truant officer is appointed and discharged by the director, but is immediately responsible to the superintendent and is a member of the educational department. His monthly reports are made to both the superintendent and the director.

Athletic events and games are part of physical training and subject to the supervision of the educational department. Athletic coaches are authorized by the superintendent. Permission to use gymnasiums and playgrounds for athletics outside of regular hours must be secured from the director. When gymnasiums are used in the daytime, the work is directed by a person appointed by the superintendent, but when they are used in the evening the work is directed by a person appointed by the director. Since tooth-

brush drills are directed by medical inspectors, they are considered business transactions.

School gardens are considered as belonging with buildings and grounds. Hence they are business activities and are under the director. This makes school gardening a business activity even when it consists of regular instruction during the school year and in school hours. This is notably the case in the school gardens of the special classes.

The Division of Medical Inspection, which is a business department, determines which children shall be admitted to special classes for physically and mentally defective, but cannot open such classes or supervise them. The two special teachers for defective children (Binet test experts) are appointed by the superintendent and are responsible to him, but work in the Division of Medical Inspection under the director.

School lunches are classed as a business function. They are administered by the business department, which carries on the work by contract with private individuals and organizations. This tends to cut it off from any close relationship with the domestic science classes of the schools, which are also engaged in the preparation of food. There is no supervisor of domestic science work in high schools, but in a general

way the supervisor of this work in the elementary schools is expected to look after the high school work and make it succeed, although without authority to make changes or responsibility for results.

The chief medical inspector has an official dual personality. As director of physical education he is appointed by the superintendent and has the status of an assistant superintendent. As chief medical inspector he is appointed by the director and has the status of chief of division. He is a conspicuous example of a man defying holy writ by successfully serving two masters.

The chief medical inspector, representing the business department, discovers a feebleminded child whom he wishes to transfer to a special class. Since the transfer of this child is an educational problem, he reports the matter to the assistant superintendent in charge of the district. Since the medical inspector is also an assistant superintendent, these two men are coördinate educational officials. The assistant superintendent of the district reports the requested transfer to the city superintendent, who deals with the matter as an educational problem and issues an order to the chief medical inspector in his capacity as assistant superintendent in charge of physical education to make the transfer.

The firerer of pottery is directly responsible to

the supervisor of drawing. She is hired by the superintendent and director, each on half time, and receives half her salary from the business department and half her salary from the educational department. She has a teacher's certificate and as an employee in the educational department is appointed for a term of one year. As an employee of the business department, she is on the civil service list with an indeterminate period of employment.

Since school principals are educational employees and custodians are business employees, the latter are completely independent of the former. If a new door handle is needed in a schoolhouse, it may be requisitioned by the custodian from the business department. If, however, the principal takes the initiative, she requisitions it from the city superintendent, who transmits the request to the supervisor of requisitions and supplies, who is the statistician in charge of educational research, and who exercises real, although not assigned, supervision over the kindergartens by virtue of his control of their supplies.

Perhaps enough instances have been cited to indicate that the permeating weakness of the Cleveland school system is the absence of definitely located authority and responsibility. What the school system needs is a distribution

of duties and responsibilities on the basis of the ability of the different people concerned to carry on the work that must be performed. It is not sufficient to have an organization in which all the people are graded in different classifications, each one of a higher rank than those below. It is true that this condition exists and must exist in every organization, but it is not a sufficient basis for the effective working of the system. It results in having some people placed in authority over others. Those in the higher ranks get higher salaries than those in the lower ranks and issue orders and directions which the others follow.

What should be developed is a plan of organization in which the characteristics that have just been described are subordinated to a systematic assignment of duties and responsibilities so that every person involved will clearly know just what he or she is responsible for doing. In so far as it is possible, an impersonal rule of duties and responsibilities should take the place of the personal rule of superiors over subordinates. The principle that is here laid down is simply the application to school management of the familiar guide to good government—"A government by laws and not by men."

A Division of Research and Efficiency

The late James J. Hill, empire builder of the northwest, gave as the guiding principle of his career the rule "Accurate and ample information is the first step toward success in any undertaking." This rule is as valid in its application to the management of a school system as it is to that of a railroad. Professor Hanus of Harvard, one of the best authorities on school administration, expresses the same conviction in the statement that the efficient management of a school system depends upon "Habitual and well-organized self-examination within the school system, including adequate appraisal of the results achieved and well-conducted experiments to confirm or refute educational opinion within and without the school system."

Cleveland has very recently taken its place among the dozen or more progressive cities of the country that have established divisions of research and efficiency in their school systems. This is a most important step in the right direction and the new division deserves the hearty and sustained support of the board. In large measure the value of efforts made during the coming years to improve educational conditions in the city will depend on the skill and accuracy with which results are measured through this new division. When the board divests itself of

the actual transaction of educational and business functions and entrusts these to its employed executives, the division of research and efficiency will provide the means by which the board can gauge the degree of effectiveness with which its executives are carrying the responsibilities and discharging the duties that have been placed upon them.

Summary

1. The board spends so much of its time listening to the clerk read in rapid monotone the communications, reports, and resolutions that relate mainly to business management, that there is little time left in its sessions to devote to problems of educational policy.

2. The amount of routine and detailed business transacted by the board is increasing in bulk so rapidly that some reform of board procedure must be made before long.

3. It is strongly recommended that the board conduct a careful study of its own activities with the purpose of relieving itself so far as possible of the transaction of detailed routine business.

4. Much time could be economized through grouping and combining communications and resolutions, through reducing the amount of detailed routine connected with the business

department that the board now transacts, and through doing away with the present complicated committee system.

5. It is recommended that the Board of Education be organized on a unit basis under the leadership of the superintendent of schools instead of being divided into two independent executive departments under two independent executives of equal rank. Under the proposed form of organization the business director would have the rank and status of assistant superintendent in charge of business affairs.

6. It is recommended that under the proposed reorganization there be worked out a systematic plan for the definite placing of authority and responsibility. The purpose is to bring about a condition under which each person in the system will know just what he or she is responsible for doing. The impersonal rule of duties and responsibilities should take the place of the personal rule of superiors over subordinates.

7. The recent establishment of a Division of Research and Efficiency is strongly commended and the hope is expressed that the new division may receive the hearty and sustained support of the board to the end that accurate and ample information may provide a safe and sound basis for the board's legislative and deliberative actions.

CHAPTER IV

PURCHASE OF TEXTBOOKS

In Cleveland the purchase of textbooks has assumed an importance utterly out of proportion to the amount of money involved. On the average the city has spent during the past decade and a half about $60,000 a year for this purpose, which is about 88 cents for each pupil enrolled in the day schools. Since the books are sold to the pupils, the Board of Education is reimbursed for much of its expenditure, and the cost is not a very serious charge against the school budget.

Because of this fact it might reasonably be expected that the textbook problem would be educationally important but without large administrative or financial significance. The fact is, however, that the problems involved in changing old textbooks and adopting new ones are among the most serious and consequential that the Board of Education and its executive officers are called upon to solve. In the history of the Cleveland Board of Education there have been times when changes in textbooks, involving a

smaller expenditure than the installation of a heating plant in a single school building or any of a hundred other repairs or replacements, have been the controlling factors in deciding the election of certain board members and the defeat of others, the dismissal of superintendents and the election of their successors, and have sown seeds of discord that profoundly affected the welfare of thousands of children over long series of years. For these reasons it is important for the public and the educational authorities of Cleveland to give careful study to the problems concerned in the selection, adoption, and distribution of textbooks for their public schools.

When the earliest schools of the city were established, there was no attempt at uniformity in textbooks. Each pupil brought from home the books that the family had and the teachers taught from them as best they could. When class work took the place of individual instruction, the advantages of uniformity became evident and the parents came together and decided which books they should purchase. Historically this is the reason for the present practice of having parents purchase textbooks for their children individually, although they pay for all the other educational necessities collectively. Through taxation they all contribute to the general funds from which the costs of land,

buildings, salaries, paper, pencils, pens, and ink are defrayed. But because of an ancient tradition, the head of each family is called upon to purchase individually the textbooks that his child needs for the work in each grade.

Conflicting Interests of Parents, Children, and Publishers

The cost of textbooks is not particularly heavy. In this city it averages about 88 cents per child per year. It constitutes a very small proportion of the total cost of education. Nevertheless because each parent must pay for textbooks individually and because the charge is mandatory and because he must pay directly out of his pocket instead of indirectly through the general taxes, these expenditures have come to seem of extraordinary importance. This is particularly true in the case of families of moderate means that have several children in school simultaneously. In these cases the parents buy books for the oldest child and then expect them to be handed down to the next younger one and so to serve for several children in turn. Naturally these parents are opposed to every change in textbooks. They believe that it is to their interests that changes and new adoptions should be made only rarely, and they are not slow to dem-

onstrate this belief by refusing to re-elect board members who have been responsible for many changes.

The interests of the book publishers are in part opposed to what the parents consider their own interests. There are few businesses more highly competitive than the publishing of school textbooks. The volumes which constitute the commodity in which this business deals are different in nature from the manufactured product of most other businesses. The principal difference lies in the fact that it is exceedingly expensive to produce the first edition of a new textbook, but relatively inexpensive to produce successive editions. For this reason it is to the interest of the publisher to have his textbook adopted and then to have it remain in use and unchanged for as many years as possible.

From a business point of view this is rendered still more important by the fact that so long as the text is prescribed by the course of study the annual consumption is large and perfectly reliable. In these factors making for stability the interests of the publishers may be coincident with the assumed interests of the parents. Nevertheless this agreement is rendered less real by the fact that the successful publisher desires not only to retain the business already secured, but to extend it by having more of his

texts adopted in substitution for those of some other publisher that have been in use. In general the publisher's endeavor is to secure the retention of his old texts and the adoption of his new ones in other subjects.

The conflict of interest produced by this situation is rendered acute by the state legislation now in force and especially by the statutory provision that when a textbook has been adopted it shall not be changed, altered, or revised, or any other text substituted for it during a period of five years following its adoption. So stringent is this provision that exception to it can be secured only through a vote of five-sixths of all the members of the Board of Education.

Further evidence of the importance of the textbook problem is to be found in the detailed and complicated legal provisions that have been enacted in order to safeguard these purchases. These provisions, together with citations of legal decisions as to their interpretation, fill a number of pages in the printed edition of the school laws of the state. Among them is to be noted one section prohibiting any superintendent, supervisor, principal, or teacher from acting directly or indirectly as agent for any person or firm offering textbooks for sale within the state.

In sharp opposition to all these influences making for stability in the textbook list are the rapid changes which have taken place in the character of school textbooks in the past few years. Progressive publishers with modern ideals have entered the field and persuaded many authors of first-class ability to prepare their texts. The result is that the books now being offered for use in our schools are unequalled by those produced anywhere else in the world. Moreover, the texts that have been appearing in the past few years are the product of writers of the highest scholarship and the best pedagogical ability. Because of the extremely rapid evolution that has characterized the textbook business of the past few years, the interests of the schools and the pupils demand many and rapid changes instead of rare and slow ones. While it is perhaps not literally true that the textbooks of 1916 surpass those of 1906 in the same degree that the automobiles of this year are superior to those of 10 years ago, still the improvements are so marked that no other contemporary comparison seems equally applicable.

The whole situation is one of conflicting interests. It may be summarized by stating that in general the parents desire few changes in textbooks; the pupils need many changes; and

each publisher wants the schools to continue using those of his texts that they have already adopted and to adopt his new texts to displace those of his competitors. Since the adoption of a single elementary textbook insures to the publisher a large and steady profit for five years and almost complete protection from competition during that period, it becomes of extraordinary importance to each publisher to bring about the adoption of his textbooks for these five-year periods.

Textbooks and School Elections

Attention has already been called to the fact that the prosperity of the textbook publisher is dependent on the favorable decisions of a few people to a degree that is seldom paralleled in other lines of business. If four members of the Board of Education will vote in favor of adopting a given series of readers or arithmetics for use throughout the elementary schools, the publisher is assured of large immediate profits and of a continued profitable business during the next five years. In addition the prospects are always excellent that the same series will be re-adopted for another period of five years.

The most effective way to secure the votes of a majority of the board is to have the book or

the series endorsed by the superintendent of schools. Since adoptions are made every five years it periodically becomes important for the agent of each prominent publishing firm to make sure that the board members and superintendent holding office when book adoptions are pending shall be well disposed toward the texts which that particular company offers for adoption. It is a matter of common knowledge in Cleveland that at different times in the past publishing firms have been most active in forwarding the candidacies of board members and executive officers. Many of those who have been intimately in touch with educational problems in this city—including former and present board members, superintendents, and school executives—have explained in great detail to members of the Survey Staff the methods alleged to have been employed by publishing firms to secure the election or defeat of different candidates for these positions. They have described incidents in the past history of school affairs in this city, such as the handling of campaign funds by men identified with publishing interests, the direct intervention of textbook representatives in the deliberations of board members looking toward the selection of executive officers, and the fluctuations in the amount of textbook purchases thought to be directly affected by the

success of such efforts by publishers' representatives.

Among these people, who should have more accurate knowledge of conditions than any one else, it appears to be the general conviction that the most powerful influence in controlling the school elections in this city for many years past has not been the welfare of the children or the wishes of the citizens, but the interests of the textbook publishing firms.

Since it is clear that the factor of most importance in making this situation possible is the combination of the provision for the five-year adoption and the one by which parents purchase books directly instead of indirectly, it cannot be too strongly recommended that steps be taken to remedy this situation by reorganizing the purchase of textbooks.

Fluctuations in Textbook Purchases

The number of children in the public schools changes only slightly from year to year. Textbooks once adopted are in general retained for a considerable period, and changes in the course of study are seldom radical or numerous. Because of these reasons the consumption of school books should be relatively constant in amount from year to year. Nevertheless the annual

purchases of textbooks show wide variations in amount. This is graphically shown by Diagram 2, in which the upright columns are proportionate to the expenditures for textbooks in this city during the past 14 years. As the diagram shows, these purchases fell as low as $23,000 in

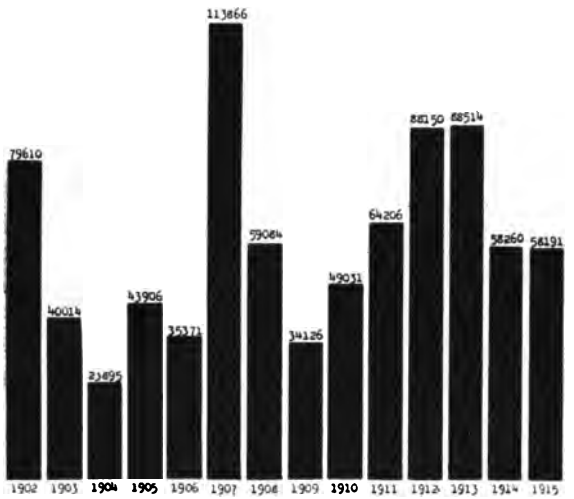

Diagram 2.—Total amounts of textbook purchases each year for 14 years

the school year ending in 1904, and rose to almost $114,000 in the year ending in 1907. The average for the 14-year period is almost $60,000.

Moreover a study of the official figures of book purchases during this period shows that

there have been fluctuations not only in total purchases but also marked variations from year to year in the amounts of purchases from individual firms. Moreover, these fluctuations seem to bear a relationship not only to the five-year periods of adoption but also to changes in the personnel of the boards and their executive officers. The period of 14 years has been chosen for this study of textbook transactions because it nearly coincides with the terms of office of the three superintendents of schools who have been at the head of the school system during almost all the time for the past decade and a half. During this period the superintendents have been the following:

School year	Superintendent
1902	Moulton
1903	Moulton
1904	Moulton
1905	Moulton
1906	Brooks, Moulton, Elson
1907	Elson
1908	Elson
1909	Elson
1910	Elson
1911	Elson
1912	Elson, Keeler
1913	Frederick
1914	Frederick
1915	Frederick

For the purposes of the present study it is fair to say that during the period from 1902–06 the

work of the schools was directed by Superintendent Moulton; during that from 1907–12 it was in charge of Superintendent Elson; and during the period from 1913–15 it was headed by Superintendent Frederick.

The principal facts with respect to textbook purchases during this period are shown in Table 10 and Diagram 3. Attention has already been called to some general facts concerning textbook purchases during this period. The average expenditure was about $60,000 a year. The per capita cost was about 88 cents per child enrolled in the day schools. The total annual purchases varied from a little over $23,000 to nearly $114,000 and the per capita expense varied from 40 cents per child in 1904 to $1.78 in 1907.

During this period books were purchased from 38 different companies, but so many of the orders were given to a few firms that the seven publishing concerns mentioned in Table 10 secured nearly 80 per cent of the business. The sharp fluctuations in the amount of business done by the different companies in different years are shown by both table and diagram. The diagram is particularly worthy of study. It shows in an impressive way that fluctuations in the amount of business done with different firms have been coincident with changes in the educational administration.

TABLE 10.—PURCHASES OF BOOKS FROM DIFFERENT COMPANIES OVER A SERIES OF YEARS

Year	Sanborn	Heath	Silver, Burdett	Scott, Foresman	Macmillan	Ginn	American Book	All Others	Total
1902	$626	$4,634	$9,354	$932	$2,807	$5,872	$38,632	$16,753	$79,610
1903	1,358	4,866	4,868	26	1,071	5,011	14,574	8,240	40,014
1904	1,133	3,704	2,230	..	553	3,475	7,078	5,722	23,895
1905	1,688	4,275	11,169	..	688	3,634	16,540	5,912	43,906
1906	1,350	2,032	4,525	..	2,849	4,047	14,762	5,806	35,371
1907	5,696	9,646	2,489	12,955	1,100	4,971	52,444	24,565	113,866
1908	3,518	4,452	925	7,382	613	3,926	24,292	13,976	59,084
1909	390	4,806	1,956	2,905	663	2,866	14,493	6,047	34,126
1910	2,033	3,767	1,967	4,528	1,159	4,466	22,937	8,174	49,031
1911	2,629	5,641	1,274	6,811	1,216	6,014	27,568	13,053	64,206
1912	2,764	4,817	1,612	10,520	889	3,327	40,248	23,973	88,150
1913	2,848	10,062	779	3,515	15,651	24,492	15,118	16,049	88,514
1914	2,492	6,279	686	2,730	9,518	12,387	12,557	11,611	58,260
1915	2,689	6,269	622	3,173	7,031	9,721	13,776	14,910	58,191
Total	$31,214	$75,250	$44,456	$55,477	$45,808	$94,209	$315,019	$174,791	$836,224
Per cent	3.7	9.0	5.3	6.6	5.5	11.3	37.7	20.9	100.0

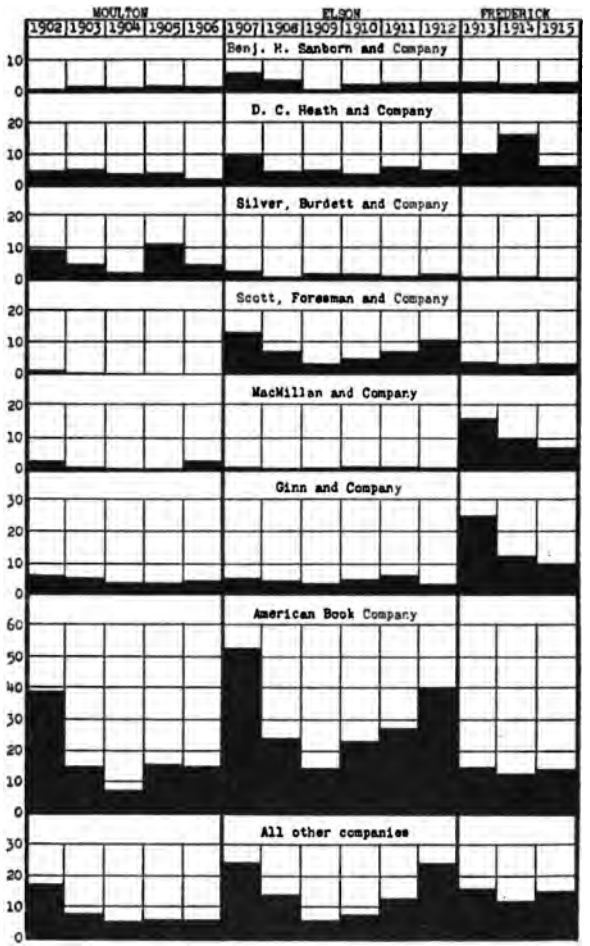

Diagram 3.—Amounts of textbook purchases (in thousands of dollars) from various publishers over a series of years

Free Textbooks Recommended

Most of the politics, annoyance, and conflict that have in the past characterized attempts to change textbooks can be avoided by adopting the free textbook policy for the city. This is permissive under the Ohio law. The adoption of the policy would constitute a most valuable reform, not only from an educational point of view, but also because it would go far toward remedying the influences which have in the past injected textbook politics into the conduct of the city's educational affairs. It would do this by greatly lessening the importance of the five-year adoption. Under the present system there is always powerful pressure brought to bear to defeat any proposed change of texts. There is the law which makes changes within the five-year period difficult. There is the great pressure of public opinion controlled by the decided reluctance of tens of thousands of parents to pay for new books. In addition there is the pressure from publishers whose books have already been adopted and who do not want changes.

If the free textbook policy should be adopted, parents would no longer oppose changes. This is the crux of the whole situation, and with this opposition removed, the action of board members with regard to textbook adoptions would be shaped by educational motives rather than

by a consideration of public opinion, and it would become a simple matter to secure the five-sixths vote necessary for a change. Under these circumstances the adoption of a text would no longer signify for the publisher an almost insured income for years to come, and so it would cease to be of such paramount importance as it now is. Hence the publisher would no longer look to public opinion as the great force making changes difficult and so making adoptions of the first importance. Under these conditions textbooks would compete for adoption on their merits and the publishers would be far less interested than they now are in the outcome of educational elections.

The adoption of a free textbook policy would not constitute so great an innovation for Cleveland as might be supposed. At the present time the city has already in force the rudiments of a free textbook system. It already furnishes supplementary reading books to all pupils free of charge. It supplies the night school pupils with free books and it furnishes books for day school pupils whose parents state that they are unable to purchase them.

Present Rudiments of Free Textbook System

Under the Ohio law each board of education may furnish textbooks without charge to children whose parents are unable to purchase them. In practice the parent signs a statement certifying

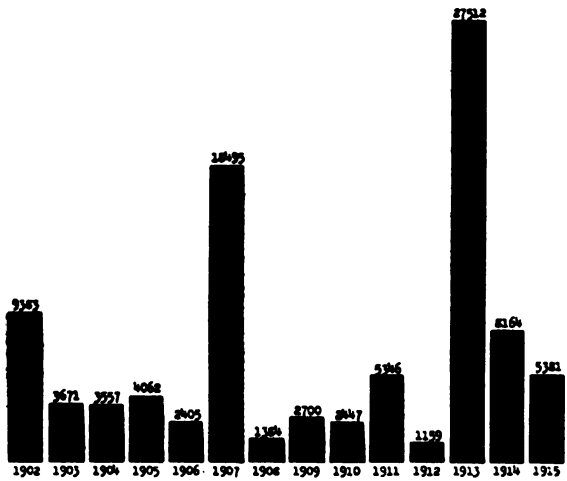

Diagram 4.—Expenditures for indigent books for 14 years

that he is unable to buy the books. If the principal endorses the statement, she requisitions the volumes from the custodian of books who is an officer under the director of schools. The needed books are then forwarded to the school and are locally known as "indigent books." The pur-

chase of such books involves considerable expenditures. In 1913 the cost to the city was 31 per cent of the entire textbook expenditures. In 1914 and 1915 the expenditures for free books were respectively 14 per cent and five per cent of the entire textbook bill. The fluctuation in the expenses for indigent books for the 14 years that have been considered are shown in Diagram 4, in which the upright columns are proportionate in height to the amounts of money expended each year. Moreover, the records indicate that there is not only wide variation in the distribution of indigent books in different years, but that widely varying conditions are found in the different schools. This is plainly shown by the figures of Table 11, which show the number of

TABLE 11.—NUMBER AND VALUE OF INDIGENT BOOKS PER PUPIL IN 17 ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS IN 1915

School	Number	Value
Hough	..	..
Columbia	.1	$ .03
Wade Park	.2	.09
Doan	.3	.10
Dennison	.4	.13
Halle	.3	.13
Memphis	.4	.14
Dawning	.9	.33
Outhwaite	1.2	.41
Sowinski	1.1	.59
Dike	1.9	.70
Murray Hill	2.0	.70
Tremont	2.1	.76
Brownell	2.4	.90
Eagle	2.9	.98
Marion	2.9	.99
Case Woodland	2.7	1.05

such books per pupil enrolled and their average value per pupil in 17 schools in 1915. The figures of the table indicate that at the present time the free textbook system is almost completely operative in certain schools, partially so in many others, and not in force at all in still others.

Besides the indigent books, the city furnishes free supplementary reading books and free evening school books and operates its textbook department at a financial loss. In each of these ways it already has the rudiments of a free textbook system. During the past three years the expense for supplementary reading books has varied from $5,400 to $7,600, that for free night school books from $1,500 to $5,000, while the loss through excess of expense over income in the operation of the book department amounts to more than two per cent of the gross business transactions. All of these conditions are important. In 1913 payment for indigent books consumed 31 per cent of the entire book budget; that for supplementary books was nine per cent; the cost of free night school books was six per cent; and the loss on operation was two per cent. This makes a total of about 48 per cent of the entire expense for books in that year which went for free books. During the two subsequent years the proportion was not so high but the fact remains that the city has at the present time the

rudiments of a free textbook system combined with the disadvantages of the pay system.

Advantages of Free Textbooks

The free textbook system is in no sense experimental, for it now applies to perhaps half of the school children of the country. Textbooks have been furnished free by Philadelphia for almost a century and by many other cities for almost half a century. They are provided for by compulsory law through 12 states and are supplied in portions of 15 other states. In no state where free textbooks have been adopted is there any record of a movement looking toward the repeal of the system. In every state where they are supplied the state superintendent testifies that the system increases the efficiency of the teaching in the schools. Evidence recently gathered from these officials shows that they are unanimous in testifying that the free textbook system tends to prolong the school life of the child, makes the adoption of new texts far easier, facilitates uniformity, and increases the promptness with which schools begin work in the fall. It is influential in doing away with much friction between parents and school authorities, and it is efficacious in removing from the schools much of the baneful influence of textbook politics.

In collections of old school books there are to be found very interesting single volumes from which it was expected that the child should gain his entire education. These old books begin with the alphabet, carry the pupil through easy reading lessons, present copy for writing lessons, have sections on arithmetic, history, and geography, and conclude with sections on astronomy and natural philosophy. As experience has accumulated concerning the nature and problems of public education, it has been found that one textbook is not sufficient and that two or three or half a dozen are not sufficient. It was soon found that the children needed different books for the different subjects and progressively more advanced books for each higher grade. Recently it has been discovered that the effectiveness of school work is greatly increased if the children of each grade can have several books available on each subject and really large numbers in some subjects, such as reading.

We have now reached the stage where truly effective work, judged on the basis of modern standards, can no longer be accomplished if each child is expected to supply his own educational tools. This change in education is like the corresponding one in industry, where in earlier days each workman took his own kit of tools to the shop and where at the present time the factory

supplies all the tools because they must be numerous, modern, uniform, and in good condition. Leaving the supplying of books to private purchase is one of the greatest single obstacles in the way of educational progress. In some measure this has been realized by many citizens and civic organizations of the city that have repeatedly petitioned the Board of Education to enter upon a free textbook policy.

One of the unexpected results of the adoption of the policy in Massachusetts was an immediate increase of 10 per cent in the number of children attending the high schools. Finally, school books bought by the community cost the community about 20 per cent less than when bought by individuals. For all these reasons it is strongly recommended that Cleveland take its place among the cities that furnish textbooks free throughout the public schools. If the system is installed, the cost will amount annually to something more than $1.00 per pupil. Under the free textbooks plan this will be met from the taxes instead of being paid directly by the parents.

Summary

1. In Cleveland textbooks are adopted for five-year periods, purchased by the Board of Education, and sold to the pupils. Since the expense is

borne individually by the parents, it has assumed extraordinary importance and changes in textbooks are secured only with difficulty. This results in a stability of the textbook lists that in turn makes it most important for the textbook publisher to have his books placed on the accepted list when the five-year adoptions are being made.

2. These conditions combine to produce on the part of the textbook publisher a periodic intense interest in the results of school selections. As a result publishing firms have in the past wielded large influence in the election of school board members and executive officers.

3. In order to remedy this situation as well as in consideration of the educational welfare of the children, it is recommended that a free textbook policy be adopted. Cleveland already has the rudiments of such a policy, for at present the city supplies without expense supplementary reading books for all pupils, textbooks for all evening school pupils, and textbooks for pupils whose parents state that they are unable personally to supply them. These purchases of free books involve expenditures constituting from one-fifth to one-half of the entire expense for books.

4. It is recommended that the city extend its present rudimentary free textbook policy

until it becomes a universal one applying to all the children. There is abundant evidence that such a policy promotes educational efficiency, facilitates uniformity, tends to prolong the school life of the child, makes the adoption of new texts easier, reduces the influences of textbook politics, and lessens expense to the community.

CHAPTER V

REORGANIZATION OF BOARD CONTROL

The four preceding chapters have only one purpose and that is to answer the double question, "What is the matter with the Cleveland schools and what should be done to remedy the situation?" The difficulties pointed out and the remedies suggested are many and diverse, but in final analysis all the difficulties have their origin in the methods of board control and all the suggested remedies are directed toward changing those methods. Some of the suggested remedies are immediately available and may be enacted by the board itself, while others are dependent on changes in state law and must be postponed to the future.

Methods of Board Determine Character of School System

In the first chapter attention has been called to the fundamental fact that the quality of the public education that Cleveland receives is

largely determined by the leadership that directs it. Here, as in every other human organization, the character of the whole is conditioned, shaped, and largely determined by the person or the board at the head. In this city it is now the Board of Education rather than the director or superintendent that occupies this position of leadership and is responsible for the results.

At the present time and for some years past the Board of Education has been mainly engaged in dealing with little problems of specific application instead of considering and deciding large problems of general policy. Because of this the executive officers of the board are mainly occupied in referring such minor matters to the board, being authorized to act upon them, acting on them, and being confirmed by the board for having so acted. Concerning most of these minor matters of business and educational detail the board members can have no intimate knowledge although they are called upon to render decisions concerning them. In addition to the many hundreds of matters so referred to the board, there are other much more numerous and still smaller decisions continually reached by the executive officers in the conduct of their daily work. Nevertheless, except where the law or a board rule decides the matter, there is no way by which any one can be sure which matters

are to be referred to the board and which are to be decided without being so referred. For this reason there is always doubt as to where the authority for many necessary acts and decisions is really located.

Because of this condition there exists at headquarters a chronic vagueness as to just who is responsible for reaching a decision concerning any question that is a little out of the ordinary. As a result of this vagueness concerning new problems, and because all concerned feel a sense of greater security concerning old ones, we find most of the board members and board employees devoting themselves to specialized interests and avoiding contact with new problems.

Since this condition characterizes the leadership of public education in Cleveland, its results permeate the community and the school system. As the matters considered by the board are mostly those of specific detail, the newspaper reports of board meetings deal with just these considerations and the public discusses them under the impression that they constitute the real problems of public education. Since the employed executives at the head are not quite sure as to just what they have power to do and are responsible for doing, they cannot definitely delegate authority and responsibility to their assistants and subordinates. This same condi-

tion extends all the way down the line. The general result of it all is a community interest and an educational system characterized by overemphasis on differences concerning minor matters. Combined with this is the habit on the part of almost all concerned of thinking that some one else should be responsible for facing the real and larger problems.

This is a drastic charge to make in such sweeping terms, and it does not fairly represent the attitude of every individual in the school system, for there are marked exceptions to the general condition described. It does, however, seem to indicate the nature of Cleveland's great educational problem and many instances and illustrations in corroboration of this have been given in the preceding chapters and especially in the closing sections of Chapter III.

What the Board Should Do

If the present educational troubles of the city are due to the methods of the Board of Education, then the first step in remedying them is for the board to decide what its activities ought to be. Reduced to simplest terms these may be stated as follows: The board should decide what it wants to have done, select people to do these things, study results to see how well they are

being done, and keep telling the public about the problems faced and progress made.

To put this simple formula into effect involves ultimately almost every reform that has been suggested. They are not all immediately available, but the more essential steps may be taken at once if the board decides to do so. It is worth while to consider in some detail the different steps involved in such a program of reform and to note which ones are at once possible of accomplishment and which must be postponed until changes in state law have been secured.

How the Board Should Be Selected

Under the present law board members are chosen at popular elections held at the same time as the elections for city officers. It is clear that this is not the wisest method of selecting a board of education. In the excitement of the general election the welfare of the schools becomes temporarily a matter of minor consideration and school interests become obscured by political interests.

A much better way is to hold the school elections at a separate time from the other elections. This change has been put into effect in a number of cities and has been found a great improve-

ment over the old way. If the school elections are held quietly each spring in public school houses and with a simplified form of ballot, it is found that the expense is slight in comparison with the beneficial results that are brought about.

Another device for securing the same results is to have the board members appointed by the mayor or elected by the city commissioners instead of having them elected by the people. Under a commission form of government, election by the commissioners gives exceedingly satisfactory results, but under the ordinary form of city government popular election on a special election day is probably the best plan.

Under any plan of election or appointment it is of the utmost importance to secure board members of first-class ability. This involves the selection of a rather unusual type of citizen. The efficient Board of Education does its work by deciding on problems of policy, expansion, and expenditure and it employs skilled experts to administer the details. The valuable school board member is the one capable of doing these difficult things. In general such efficient board members are men who are successful in handling large and difficult undertakings. They are often merchants, manufacturers, bankers, contractors, and professional men of large practice. Such men

can generally think independently, explain the reasons for their actions, take the advice of experts, and spend money intelligently.

Many students of municipal government believe that it would be better to do away with Boards of Education entirely and trust the direction of the schools to a superintendent who would have something of the same relationship to the work as exists between the chief of police or the chief of the fire department and their assistants and subordinates. If the proper work of the Board of Education were to deal with a mass of routine business detail, this view would be sound and the Board of Education might well be dispensed with. In the opinion of the Survey Staff a Board of Education is needed in this city simply because its proper work is so very different from the conduct of routine business details. To an exceptional degree the educational system of this city demands continuously intelligent policy-making activity. The city is growing with unremitting rapidity. Its economic life is exceptionally varied and mobile. New and large alien communities spring up almost periodically and in unexpected places. All these conditions combine to make it necessary that its educational government shall be flexible and adaptable. It is more likely to have these qualities if it has the advantages of lay counsel than

if its policies are exclusively decided by its professional officials. A requisite for unbroken progress in public government is to go forward rapidly enough to enlist the confidence and support of the people, but not so rapidly as to arouse their suspicion and distrust. In the conduct of public education the function of the layman is to moderate the transports of the experts. It is to keep the professional schoolman from exceeding the educational speed limit.

All this is far from meaning that the deliberative work of the board should be limited to telling the superintendent what the public wants, and the work of the superintendent limited to putting these orders into execution. In addition to his work as executive, the main business of the superintendent is to think, to plan, and to propose, and the business of the board is to make decisions about these proposals. This is the way that educational progress is made, but if the superintendent and the board successfully unite in this kind of team-work they will constantly be taking forward steps that will appear as questionable innovations to the public at large. Because of this fact one of the most important tasks of the board consists in a continuous policy of public education for the purpose of carrying the community. One of the essentials in this process is full discussion in board meet-

School Problems Require Board Deliberation

There is another fundamentally important reason why the Board of Education must by some means or other change its methods so as to find time for discussion and deliberation in regular meetings and with the full membership present. This is because the school system is now facing a number of problems of policy so far-reaching in importance that they cannot be decided by the executive officers alone, so difficult of solution that they should not be decided by subcommittees of the board, and so complex that solutions can be reached only through discussion and not by the private investigation and study of individual members. Among such problems the following are typical:

The city has academic, technical, and commercial high schools and soon more high school accommodations must be provided. Is the best policy to build another school of one of these three types, and if so, of which type? Or would it be better to build a high school of music, or a high school of art, or a high school of agriculture? Or would it be better to change the present high schools into cosmopolitan high schools?

The city has experimented with junior high schools for one year. What are the results of the experiment and should the system be extended throughout the city?

The city has experimented with the platoon plan for one year. What are the results of the experiment and should the system be extended?

Should Cleveland adopt the Gary plan in whole or in part?

Should school libraries be located in each junior high school? In each elementary school? Should branches of the public library be located in school buildings or in separate buildings?

Should mentally sub-normal children be segregated in special buildings and physically exceptional children of normal mentality taught in classes in regular school buildings, thus reversing the present policy of the system?

Should a new commercial high school be erected or commercial courses be established in all high schools, and in either case should boys and girls receive the same training?

By what methods may the city best solve the problems of teaching English to non-English-speaking immigrants?

The city now needs annually many more new teachers than there are graduates from the local normal school. Shall the city enlarge the normal school or secure part of its teachers from outside? If it follows the latter course, how may it locate and select the best teachers?

Changes in the salary schedules of teachers have been planned to go into effect next fall. By what methods may salary increases be made to stimulate professional improvement and reward teaching skill?

How can the city make sure that the elementary principals keep abreast of modern educational progress?

How can the system secure sufficient revenues to place its finances on a "pay as you go" basis?

Should new school buildings include shops, auditoriums, swimming pools, gymnasiums, and the like, and does the use of such special facilities justify their great expense?

Should the compulsory attendance law be so interpreted as to compel boys and girls to remain in school until they are 15 or 16, even if they graduate from the eighth grade before reaching these ages?

Such questions as these require for their solution the careful consideration and mature deliberation of the whole board. In order to be free to discuss and decide them, the board needs to reform its procedure so as to spend less of its time in disposing of the great mass of matters that do not need discussion or deliberation.

Direct Action as a Substitute for Committee Action

In Chapter III a considerable section is devoted to considering committee organization and the way in which the board transacts its business through its committees. As a conclu-

sion of this consideration the statement is made that the present procedure through committees is one of the factors mainly responsible for loading up the board with a mass of routine and detailed work. There is ample evidence that the board's business would be far more simply and readily conducted if most of it were transacted directly by the board as a whole without being referred to the committees. The recommendation is there made and is here repeated that the Board of Education consider this problem in connection with the recommended study of its own procedure. By this means an important improvement could be brought about without waiting for new legislation.

Unit Instead of Dual Organization

A considerable part of the third chapter of this report is devoted to a consideration of the inseparability of business and educational matters. This is important in Cleveland because at the present time the Board of Education is so organized that there are two major independent departments under two independent executives of equal rank. One of these is the business department under the Director of Schools and the other is the educational department under the Superintendent of Schools. This form of organ-

ization is in considerable measure responsible for the general vagueness as to responsibility and authority that characterizes the system. The business department is steadily growing in relative importance and threatens to dominate the school system. Already Cleveland spends decidedly more than other similar cities for the business activities that directly concern the work of the Director of Schools and decidedly less than other similar cities for the educational purposes immediately related to the work of the superintendent. The conduct of educational affairs would be bettered by substituting a unit system of control under the leadership of one man for the present dual system under the leadership of two men. If this fundamental change is not made, the board should at least effect such a reorganization as will do away with such overlapping of authority and uncertainty as to responsibility as is referred to in the closing sections of Chapter III.

The suggested reform is one that can be brought about under the existing law. It is not so essential as the reform of board procedure, and many of the present undesirable tendencies could be checked by administrative readjustments and without abolishing the office and department of the director.

In this connection attention must be called to

the fact that the salary of the superintendent in this city is inadequate. The average salary of superintendents of schools in cities of 250,000 or over is approximately $8,000. In Cleveland it is only $6,000. With such cities as New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, Pittsburgh, Detroit, and Cincinnati paying their superintendents salaries of $9,000, $10,000, and $12,000, this city cannot expect to secure and retain the services of equally able leaders without paying a corresponding salary. There are cities of scarcely more than 20,000 inhabitants that pay their superintendents the same salary as is paid by this city of three-quarters of a million.

Authority and Responsibility Should Be Definitely Located

There should be worked out a systematic plan for the definite placing of authority and responsibility throughout the school system. The purpose of such a plan would be to bring about a condition under which each person in the system would know just what he or she was responsible for doing. The object would be to make the impersonal rule of duties and responsibilities take the place of the personal rule of superiors over subordinates. This reform is one which would largely come as a consequence of

adopting the several reforms that have been advocated.

Free Textbook System Should Be Adopted

In order to eliminate textbook publishing firms as an influence in the election of school board members and executive officers, and in order to increase the efficiency of the schools, Cleveland should adopt a free textbook system. Such a policy helps eliminate politics from school control, promotes educational efficiency, tends to prolong the school life of the child, makes the adoption of new texts easier, and lessens expense to the community. The change can be made under the existing school laws.

Summary

1. Cleveland's educational troubles have their origin in present methods of board control.

2. The board should divest itself of routine detail and delegate such work to its employed executives.

3. The board should decide what it wants to have done, select people to do these things, study results to see how well they are being done, and keep telling the public about the problems faced and the progress made.

4. The board should concern itself with getting things done and stop attempting to do so many of them itself.

5. The board should make a careful study of its own activities with the definite purpose of condensing, abridging, and delegating detail.

6. The board should simplify and largely abandon its present method of conducting business through committees.

7. School elections should not be held simultaneously with municipal elections, and the city should seek a change in the law so as to provide for school elections on some other date or providing a substitute for popular election.

8. A single-headed form of organization under the leadership of the superintendent of schools would be better than the present double-headed organization under the independent leadership of the director and the superintendent.

9. The annual salary of the superintendent should be increased to $10,000, so that Cleveland may successfully compete with other cities of corresponding and smaller size.

10. Authority and responsibility should be definitely located throughout the school system, so that each person concerned would know just what he or she was responsible for doing.

11. Cleveland should adopt the free textbook system.

CLEVELAND EDUCATION SURVEY REPORTS

These reports can be secured from the Survey Committee of the Cleveland Foundation, Cleveland, Ohio. They will be sent postpaid for 25 cents per volume with the exception of "Measuring the Work of the Public Schools" by Judd, "The Cleveland School Survey" by Ayres, and "Wage Earning and Education" by Lutz. These three volumes will be sent for 50 cents each. All of these reports may be secured at the same rates from the Division of Education of the Russell Sage Foundation, New York City.

Child Accounting in the Public Schools.—Ayres.
Educational Extension—Perry.
Education through Recreation—Johnson.
Financing the Public Schools—Clark.
Health Work in the Public Schools—Ayres.
Household Arts and School Lunches—Boughton.
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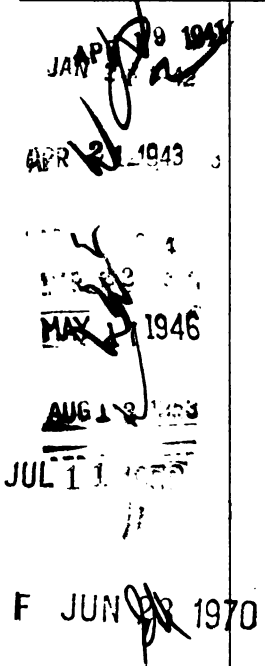

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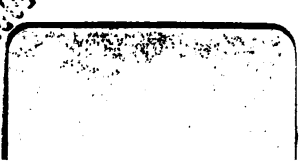
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